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VOLUME I

FRANK G. SPECK

PHILADELPHIA
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1909–1911

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ANTHROPOLOGICAL PUBLICATIONS OF THE UNIVERSITY MUSEUM

VOL. I. NO. 1.

ETHNOLOGY OF THE YUCHI INDIANS

BY

FRANK G. SPECK

GEORGE LEIB HARRISON FELLOW IN ANTHROPOLOGY

PHILADELPHIA

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1909

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ETHNOLOGY OF THE YUCHI INDIANS.

INTRODUCTION.

In the summers of 1904 and 1905 I spent a total of about four months among the Yuchi Indians of the Creek nation in Oklahoma collecting material for the Bureau of American Ethnology. The investigation was undertaken at the recommendation of Dr. Franz Boas of Columbia University. Funds to cover transportation and the collection of ethnological specimens were furnished by the American Museum of Natural History upon both occasions under Dr. Boas's recommendation. The greater part of the ethnological material offered in this paper was obtained at the same time, and is published with the permission of both the scientific institutions concerned.

Again during the winter of 1908 while holding a Harrison fellowship at the University of Pennsylvania, I was able under special provision of the Provost to make a third visit to the Yuchi for the purpose of completing my observations, and the studies which are embodied in the present work took their final form during this period.

It has been my object simply to give an account of the Yuchi Indians as they exist at the present day and as they presented themselves to me during my several periods of residence among them, purposely avoiding any lengthy discussion of the conditions which I encountered. Much of the description is based directly upon observation; the rest of the matter was obtained from informants who are responsible for its accuracy

Among the latter were *Gambesī'ne* (Jim Brown), *Ekīlané* (Louis Long), *Ka'Ká* (John Wolf), George Clinton, John Big Pond, *Go^{n}lä^{n}tcīné* (Jim Tiger), Henry Long, and *Fago^{g}o^{n}wī'*, all of whom held civil or religious offices in the tribe, and others who from time to time appeared to be well informed upon special topics.

THE YUCHI INDIANS.

Among the indigenous tribes of the southeastern United States, living within a territory roughly defined by the borders of Georgia and South Carolina, was one, exhibiting a type of culture common to the inhabitants of the country bordering on the Gulf of Mexico east of the Mississippi river, whose members called themselves *Tsoyahá*, "Offspring of the Sun," otherwise known as the Yuchi. Constituting an independent linguistic stock (called Uchean in Powell's classification), their earliest associations, in so far as these are revealed by history and tradition, were identified with the banks of the Savannah river where they lived at a very early time in contact with a southern band of Shawnee, and near the seats of the Cherokee, the Catawba, the Santee, and the Yamasi. These tribes, together with the Yuchi, represent five distinct linguistic stocks; a greater diversity of language than is usually found in so restricted an area east of the Mississippi. The Yuchi maintain that they were originally one of the large tribes of the Southeast which, suffering oppression at the hands of encroaching tribes of the Muskogian stock, became much reduced and was finally incorporated, together with the Shawnee, into the loose coalition of southeastern tribes known in colonial history as the Creek confederacy or the Creek Nation. Indeed it is supposed, and is moreover highly probable, that in the course of extended migrations the Creeks pressed for a considerable length of time upon the Yuchi, who, in a fruitless effort to check the advance of the Muskogi confederacy, resisted the pressure as long as they were able, eventually made peace and themselves joined the league.

HISTORICAL SKETCH

The early historical and literary sources of information about the Yuchi are very meagre indeed. De Soto in his invasion of the Florida wilderness (1540) is believed to have entered Yuchi territory, and it may be granted that an examination of some names mentioned by his chroniclers would appear to give some color to this belief.[1] Among other examples of the kind a town named Cofitachiqui, variously spelled, where De Soto was hospitably received by the "Queen," is believed without much hesitation by some writers to have been a Yuchi town. The Yuchi, however, do not recognize the terms *Cofitachiqui*, *Cutifachiqui*, or any similar forms of the name given by Biedma, Ranjel, or the Gentleman of Elvas. On the other hand, evidence of De Soto's contact with the Yuchi is not entirely wanting in these narratives, for we are told of a captive who claimed to belong to a people eastward in a land called "*Yupaha*," which in Yuchi means 'in the distant heights,' (*yūba*, 'far high,' *he* 'in,') or 'the high people' (*yūba*, *ha* collective particle, 'people'). This piece of evidence stands quite by itself, for it is rather hazardous to attempt to identify with the Yuchi any of the other tribal names given by the Spanish explorers. There is a possibility that the French under Ribault and Laudonniere came in contact with the Yuchi, or at least with tribes of similar culture, at the mouth of the St. John's river at Fort Caroline in 1564, but the evidence furnished by a study of names is not any more satisfactory in this case. The customs of the natives encountered, however, agree with those of the Yuchi, judging from the pictures made by Le Moyne,[2] the artist of the expedition.

About the year 1729 the Yuchi are supposed to have been gathered on the Chattahoochee river under the protection of the Creek confederacy. Hardly anything more is heard of the tribe until shortly before 1791, when it was visited by William Bartram of Philadelphia, who recorded a few facts about Yuchi town and its houses.[3] He thought the Indians numbered 1000 or 1500, as they were said to muster 500 gun men. Later, in 1798–99, we find the Yuchi described by Benj. Hawkins,[4] as constituting one of the chief towns of the Lower Creeks, located on the right bank of the Chattahoochee river, having three villages and 250 gun men. His other remarks are not of

[1] Narratives of De Soto (in Trailmakers' Series), Vols. I and II.

[2] De Bry, Larger Voyage, Part II, Florida (English).

[3] Travels through North and South Carolina and Georgia, etc., Phila., 1791, p. 388.

[4] Sketch of Creek Country, published in Collection, Georgia Historical Society (1848), p. 62.

much ethnological value. During the Creek War (1813–1814), the Yuchi took a prominent part in affairs, and later removed (1836) with the so-called Creek Nation to the lands beyond the Mississippi river where they are now located. They still maintain to a certain degree their cultural unity in spite of contact with aliens for so long a period. In 1900–1901 some of them joined the Crazy Snake band of Creeks who threatened trouble for the Dawes Commission over the allotment of lands in the Creek Nation.

The main published sources of information on the Yuchi are the following: Albert Gallatin collected and published a vocabulary almost useless on account of inadequate orthography.[1] Gatschet gives some ethnologic notes,[2] a brief summary of the language,[3] three Yuchi myths,[4] and also a very general description of the tribe.[5]

Other references to the Yuchi in literature are mostly quotations from the sources mentioned. A short review of the chief characteristics of Yuchi ethnology is to be found in the Handbook of the American Indians.[6] In a general article on southeastern culture,[7] Yuchi material was also used by the writer for comparative purposes.

The Yuchi, in accordance with their belief that they were the original occupants of eastern Georgia and South Carolina, have no migration legend. Their only myth of this class tells how a part of the tribe broke away from the main stock as the result of a dispute at a dance and departed westward, never to be heard of again. This tradition, like many others, is found widely distributed over America in various guises and evidently reflects certain elements common to Indian mythology rather than an actual experience of the tribe relating it. At the same time the Indians have a very firm belief that another band of Yuchi is somewhere in existence, a belief which, while it has nothing to support it except the stories that they tell, should not, perhaps, be altogether ignored.[8]

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[1] American Antiquarian, Vol. II (1836), pp. 306 *et seq.*

[2] Ibid. (1879), p. 77.

[3] Science, Apr., 1887, p. 413.

[4] American Anthropologist, Vol. VI (1893), p. 280.

[5] Migration Legend of the Creek Indians (1884), Vol. I, pp. 17–24, Vol. II, passim.

[6] Bulletin 30, Bureau American Ethnology (1907), part 2.

[7] American Anthropologist, N. S., Vol. 9, No. 2 (1907), pp. 287–295.

[8] A chief related the following incident in mentioning this tradition. "I was in Muskogee (Oklahoma). I passed an Indian on the street. We spoke together. He said he was a Yuchi from near the mountains. We could understand each other, but he was not a Yuchi of our country. I don't know where he belonged or where he went. He may have been one of the other band." On another occasion some Yuchi who were attending an Indian show were addressed by a strange Indian in the following words: "Wīgyä' nénaⁿ," 'What are you?' They observed, they say, a slight difference between his speech and theirs, but before they could find out from him where he came from he was called away by someone and they could not find him again. The Yuchi talk a great deal about these occasions, and seem to have hopes of finding the lost people some day.

POPULATION.

At the present day the Yuchi are located in the northwestern part of the Creek nation, where they have been since the removal in 1836. They inhabit the well-watered hills in the section known locally as the Cross Timber, a thinly wooded tract running in a general northerly and southerly direction through central Oklahoma, the last extensive frontier of timber on the southwestern prairies marking the old boundaries of Oklahoma and Indian Territory. There are in this region three so-called settlements of Yuchi, called respectively Polecat, Sand Creek and Big Pond by the whites. All of these settlements are distributed in a region extending from Polecat Creek to the Deep Fork of the Canadian river. When, however, the term settlement is used for such inhabited districts it is a little misleading because, although the Indians are a little more closely grouped in the three neighborhoods mentioned, they are really scattered over the whole of the Cross Timber country, none of which is thickly settled by them. Their plantations, where they engage in agriculture or in cattle raising, are not in close proximity to each other, except where some passable road and the nearness to good water and arable soil combine to attract them. In such cases there may be a dozen families found within the radius of a mile or so. In some parts of their habitat, however, ten or twelve miles of forest and prairie affording good cover for game may be traversed without passing a plantation. Thus, according to their own accounts as well as those of their neighbors the Creeks, the Yuchi were accustomed to live in their old homes in Georgia and Alabama.

It is a very difficult matter at present to estimate the number of the Yuchi on account of their scattered condition. As no separate classification is made for them in the government census they are counted as Creeks. Their numbers, however, can hardly exceed five hundred. They are apparently most numerous in the vicinity of Polecat Creek. The other neighborhoods are somewhat less populous but are regarded as being a little more conservative.

Despite the fact that three settlements are recognized by themselves and their neighbors, the Yuchi constitute only a single town in the eyes of the Creeks. The latter, as is well known, had a national convention in which delegates were received from all the towns and tribes of the confederacy. Accordingly the Yuchi, as one of the confederated town-tribes, had the privilege of sending one representative to the House of Kings and four to the House of Warriors, as they called the two political assemblies of the Creek Nation at Muscogee. This convention met once a year until 1906 and was a modified

and modernized survival of the form of assembly held in the old days by the tribes constituting the Muskogian alliance. These bodies met irregularly to consider questions which arose between them, as a loosely united league, and the United States Government or other tribes. If the numerical strength of the tribe recorded by Bartram in 1791 and Hawkins in 1798–99 can be regarded as approximately correct the Yuchi must now be on the decrease. Bartram thought there were 500 gun men, and Hawkins stated, only a few years later, that there were 250 gun men. In any case, granting the existence of inaccuracies in both estimates, it is safe to conclude that the numbers of the Yuchi, like the other surviving tribes of the Southeast, have dwindled slightly in the last hundred years. Numerical comparisons of this sort between past and present are, however, of very little value, as can be seen from the wide discrepancies in the early estimates.

ENVIRONMENT.

NEIGHBORS.

The Yuchi of the present time have nearly forgotten their old associations east of the Mississippi. Their geographical knowledge is practically limited to their immediate surroundings. They are known to the Creeks as *Yū'tci*, plural *YūtcA'lgi*, to the Cherokee as *Yū'tsi*, and to the Chickasaw as *Yū'tci*. An informant stated that they were known to the Comanche as *SakyówA^{n}*.

To the Yuchi their near neighbors the Creeks are known as *Kū'ba*, 'looking this way' (?), plural *Kū'baha*. The Shawnee they call *Yo^{n}'cta*, the Cherokee *Tsala''ki*, and the Choctaw *Tca^{g}'ta*. Their name for whites in general is *Ka''ka* (*Goyáka*) 'man white,' for negroes *Go'cpi*, 'man black.'

In their bearing towards other tribes it is noticeable that the Yuchi hold them in some contempt. They seldom mix socially with the Creeks, presumably because of their former enmity. A strong feeling of friendship is, however, manifested toward the Shawnee, which is probably a sentiment surviving from early affiliation with the southern branch of this people on the Savannah river.[1] It should be added, however, that the Shawnee who associate with the Yuchi are not part of the large band known as the Absentee Shawnee of Oklahoma. The former are not at all numerous, but live scattered among the Yuchi villages.

With their neighbors on the west, the Sauk and Fox, the Yuchi have developed, since the removal, considerable intimacy. Their contact can be traced in trade, in attendance upon each other's ceremonies, and especially in the Plains practice of "sweating" horses, which will be described later. It is not impossible that some of the items of Yuchi culture, particularly in decorative art, may be found to have been derived from the Sauk and Fox when more is known on both sides.

The following translation from the beginning of a myth, describing the way in which the tribes were distributed over the earth, shows the Yuchi concept regarding the origin of their neighbors: "Now the people had come upon the earth. The Shawnee came from above. The Creeks came from the ground. The Choctaw came from the water. The Yuchi came from the sun."

---

[1] Cf. Linguistic map of North American Indians, Algonkian area near Uchean (Yuchi); Mooney, Myths of the Cherokee, 19th Report, Bureau American Ethnology, p. 494; Siouan Tribes of the East, p. 83; Schoolcraft, North American Indians, Vol. V, p. 262 *et seq.* (1791); Benj. Hawkins, sketch of Creek Country (1798–99), pp. 34, 63.

Like many Indians the Yuchi show in their manner and speech not a little suspicion and some contempt for the whites, whom they believe to be fickle and weak. These qualities are ascribed by the Yuchi to the manner of their origin, for it is explained in a myth that the white men originated from the unstable foam of the sea which is ever blown hither and thither by the changing winds. When first seen they were thought to be sea gulls, but they appeared to the Yuchi again and tried to converse with them. Once more, when a year had passed they appeared again in numerous ships and this time they landed, but left before long. Another time they appeared, bringing boxes which they filled with earth in which they planted some seeds. They told the Indians that their land was fat, *i. e.* fertile, and asked for a portion of it to live upon. With this request the Indians complied, and the white people made a settlement and stayed. One cannot fail to suspect that this bare tradition contains a memory of Ribault's expedition to Carolina and his settlement at the mouth of the St. John's river.

The negroes on their part do not challenge much attention from the Yuchi. The Indians are perhaps more tolerant of what they regard as foolish behavior and frivolity on the part of the black man than on the part of the white man. At one time the Yuchi, like the other tribes of the Southeast, held slaves, but it is said of them that they were easy masters, and when the time came to do so, gave the negroes their freedom with little reluctance. It is true today that many negroes, and some poor whites as well, are eager enough to work for the Indians on their plantations.

It may be said in general that the Yuchi are regarded by their neighbors and compatriots the Creeks with some dislike, tinged, however, with jealousy and a little personal fear. The Creeks are fond of ridiculing the conservatism and peculiarities of the Yuchi, but they take care not to do so openly or to provoke personal disputes with them.[1] It is noticeable that there exists a slight difference in physical appearance between the two peoples. The Yuchi are a little more inclined to be tall and slender than the Creeks and their skin is a trifle lighter in tone. These differences may be due to a mixture of negro blood, for the percentage of persons of mixed blood among the Yuchi, who, however, have received some admixture from both white and black, is smaller apparently than that observed among the Creek, Seminole and Cherokee. So far as the Yuchi are concerned the process of cross-breeding must have begun at an early date because many of those who show intermixture have no direct

[1] A Creek Indian of Kawita town, for instance, gave the following belief in regard to the Yuchi and their language: "When the Creator made the ancestors of the Indians he gave them different languages until he had none left. He found that there were still some Indians whom he had not provided for. These were the Yuchi. Having no language for them, he kicked them in the buttocks saying 'BA!' which explains why the Yuchi have such an unintelligible speech."

knowledge of any other than Indian ancestry. Their conservatism in this respect is shown by the fact that notwithstanding the long period of time during which the Yuchi have been in contact with other tribes and races there are very many pure bloods among them at the present day.

Calling themselves "Sun Offspring," the Yuchi believe in reality that they derive their origin from the Sun, who figures in their mythology as an important being of the supernatural world. He appears as their culture hero after the creation of the tribal ancestor from a drop of menstrual blood. The name Yuchi (*Yū'tcī*), however, is commonly known and used by themselves and the whites and has spread among neighboring Indians as the designation of the tribe. It is presumably a demonstrative signifying 'being far away' or 'at a distance' in reference to human beings in a state of settlement, (*yū*, 'at a distance,' *tcī*, 'sitting down').

It is possible, in attempting an explanation of the origin of the name, that the reply "*Yū'tcī*" was given by some Indian of the tribe in answer to a stranger's inquiry, "Where do you come from?" which is a common mode of salutation in the Southeast. The reply may then have been mistaken for a tribal name and retained as such. Similar instances of mistaken analogy have occurred at various times in connection with the Indians of this continent, and as the Yuchi interpreters themselves favor this explanation it has seemed advisable at least to make note of it.

In the almost universal sign language of the Plains the sign for the Yuchi is the right hand raised level with the head with the index finger pointing upward; a demonstration indicating affiliation with the sun.

Natural Environment.

The natural surroundings of the Yuchi have not been very different in the various locations which they have occupied east of the Mississippi. Even after the removal of these Indians to their present habitat west of that river, the nature of their environment was not found to be so different as to force them to make much change in their manner of life. That is to say, the keynote of their activity was and still is agriculture supplemented by hunting and fishing. The motives for the accompanying arts of basket making and pottery, together with methods of warfare, hunting, fishing and religious observances, have all likewise remained about the same since the removal. Unlike the Siouan peoples who, when they migrated from the Mississippi basin to the Plains, gave up their agricultural life entirely and became hunting nomads, the Yuchi retained their early mode of life amid their new surroundings and transported, with little change, their old activities. In their new home in Oklahoma they found arable soil, plenty of rivers containing edible fish, and extensive forests and savannahs inhabited by birds and mammals like

those of Georgia and Alabama. Both regions are rather low and well watered and are characterized by extensive grassy uplands and patches of forest, differing to some extent in regard to flora but containing many species in common. Chief among these are the pines, the oaks, the hickory, and the bois d'arc, as well as many wild plants and vegetables made use of for food or medicines. The chief plants used in their religious rituals, Red root (*Salix tristis* (?) and Button Snake root (*Eryngium yuccaefolium*), are distributed over both areas; consequently the Yuchi were not forced to substitute, in the performance of religious ceremonies, other plants for those prescribed by tradition. One vegetable product, however, the cane, is not as abundant in Oklahoma as it is in the Southeast, and the lack of this plant has occasioned the deterioration in the art of basket making and has even threatened it with total extinction. Canes for basketry can be secured nowadays only by making long journeys to distant swampy sections and consequently remarkably few cane baskets are seen.

The fauna of the two regions is for the most part alike. The Indians knew and utilized in both regions the bison, elk, Virginia deer, black bear, wolf, fox, panther, wildcat, beaver, rabbit, squirrel, raccoon, possum, skunk, weasel, and otter. Common to both regions too are the wild turkey, partridge, quail, wild pigeon, mallard duck, teal and wild goose. Eagles and herons furnished the feathers appropriate for ceremonial uses in the new home as in the old. But in leaving the Southeast they left behind the alligator, and encountered the prong-horned antelope and coyote, and they noticed changes in the number and distribution of their former animal acquaintances. Lastly the streams and rivers of Oklahoma were found to contain the fish which had been familiar and useful in the Southeast, namely catfish, dogfish, suckers, garfish, pickerel, mullets, and several kinds of bass.

The summers of Oklahoma, like those of Georgia and Alabama, are long and hot, but the winters west of the Mississippi are somewhat colder and more severe than in the Southeast. This change of climate has had its detrimental effect upon the Yuchi, for it seems that their habits of life are not so well adapted to the severer western winters, and most of their present sufferings are due to exposure at this time of the year. On the whole, however, the Yuchi, men, women and children, are a remarkably strong and healthy set of people.

LANGUAGE.

My original purpose in visiting the Yuchi was to collect linguistic matter, which is now being worked up for special purposes in the interest of the Bureau of Ethnology. Although the detailed results of my linguistic studies are not available for the present paper it will be of advantage to introduce here a general statement regarding some characteristics of the language.

It is quite certain now that Yuchi is spoken in only one dialect, although there is a current opinion that formerly the stock was more numerous than it is at present and that the language was spoken in two dialects. These dialects are stated according to tradition to have been mutually intelligible when spoken slowly. The language is characterized as regards processes by the use of postpositional and prepositional particles to show local modification of the noun, and by the use of auxiliaries to show adverbial and modal qualification of the verb. Position also plays some part in the expression of adverbial modification, verbal subordination, and sentence syntax. Inflection is not a characteristic of Yuchi, and reduplication is only used to denote the idea of distribution in time and space. The parts of speech seem to be nouns, verbs, adverbs, pronouns and particles. There are no syntactical cases, as in the neighboring Muskogian. The position of words indicates their syntactical relationship. Neither do there appear to be case affixes; the whole range of such ideas, locatives, instrumental, simulative, ablative, demonstratives and others being expressed by particles. In this class are also the temporal, modal and other particles used with verbs. There are a number of monosyllabic local and adverbial particles which have very general meanings. These syllables may enter into combination with each other and form thereby new word complexes which may have arbitrary meanings not necessarily derivable from the logical sum total of the thoughts expressed by them. Such compounds may be used as new verbs, new nouns, adverbs or auxiliaries. This psychological trait of Yuchi is, however, not an uncommon one in other American languages. There is apparently no true plural, either in nouns or verbs. The place of the plural is taken by the distributive idea which is expressed by reduplication. Verbs are mostly monosyllabic, but many have developed by combination into polysyllabic forms impossible to analyze. Nouns are of the same sort. In the noun compound the possessive pronominal elements are quite prominent, and their place is often taken by particles going with the name of the object, and immediately before it, which denote its possessor. These possessive particles, however, do not mark off any par-

ticular categories. As in other American languages, many verb and noun stems are difficult to distinguish apart. The difficulty of distinguishing between verbs and nouns is further increased by the homology between the possessive pronominal and the active subject pronominal forms. As regards personal pronouns, we find only two categories, both of which are closely related. Whether active or neutral, transitive or intransitive, the subjective pronominal forms are the same. In this paradigm are also included the possessive pronominal forms. The other category is the objective which in all but the first and second persons is a development of the subjective or of the absolute, independent forms. All of the pronominal forms are independent words capable of standing by themselves. In the pronominal persons we have first, second, third masculine, third feminine (both of which refer more particularly to Yuchi Indians), and a third indefinite form which includes whites, negroes, other Indians, animals and indefinite objects in general. Besides these forms, which are all singular, there is a first person plural and a second person plural. No difference is recognized in the pronouns between the third person singular and plural.

To conclude this brief sketch, it may be said that the whole sentence, hinging upon the verb, which comes last in position, is built up with various locative, adverbial, and pronominal particles which have fairly definite places in the sentence but which are not inseparably affixed to the words they refer to. Thus the sentence may be built up more and more, expressing details by simply stringing on particles or particle compounds with arbitrary meanings before one another, the verb, immediately preceded by its pronouns and these by its adverbs, coming last.

The subject of phonetics has been left until the last in order to make a somewhat special mention of the sounds and characters to be used in recording terms hereafter. The language, generally speaking, is acoustically soft and flowing and abounds in arrested sounds and nasalized vowels. The present-day Yuchi assert that they speak more rapidly than the old-time people, and, they add, the purer forms of the expressions are often mutilated in consequence. Another notice in connection with phonetics should be made here in outline at least. It is the constant tendency to combine phonetically pronouns with words, and words with other words, when certain vowels and semivowels come together at the beginning and end of words. This phonetic coalescence has a tendency to obscure some particles and to knit parts of the sentence into a closer unity, giving the whole something of the appearance of incorporation where it really does not exist. The following is an explanation of some of the sounds encountered in the recording of terms, and the characters which represent them.

In the stops we have the glottal catch represented by ˀ. The palatal surd *k* and sonant *g* are both similar to the English sounds. The alveolar dentals

t and *d* and the labials *p* and *b* are found, both pairs being rather difficult to determine as to their surd and sonant quality. In the spirants we have the palatal *c* like English sh, and the surd *tc*, a single sound, like ch as in English church, with the corresponding sonant *dj*. The alveolars are *s*, *ts*, and *dz*, similar to the English sounds. The labial dental surd *f* occurs, but there is no corresponding sonant. All of the surds given so far occur also followed by a catch and are represented in such cases as follows, t^{ε}, p^{ε}, tc^{ε}, s^{ε}, f^{ε}, etc. The nasal *n* occurs, but independent *m* is wanting. The lateral spirant surd sound made by pressing the tip of the tongue against the upper alveolar ridge and forcing the breath out over both sides of the tongue, is represented by *ɬ*. A common *l* like that in English is also found. The semivowels are *h*, *y*, *w;* and the bilabial aspirate of the last *hw*, also occurs.

The vowels are *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u*, with their continental values. They are short when not marked; long with the mark over them as *ā*, *ē*, *ī*, *ō*, *ū*. Other long vowels are *â* like a in English fall, and *ä* like a in English fan. Besides these there is an obscure vowel represented here by A which is similar to u in English but. Nasalized vowels, which are very frequent, are written a^{n}, $ä^{n}$, $â^{n}$, etc. Breathed vowels are *a*‘, A‘, etc. The diphthong *ai* occurs rarely. Stress and prolongation are indicated by !. Accent is marked by ′.

MATERIAL CULTURE.

AGRICULTURE.

Although the Yuchi of today are cultivators of the soil, as they were in former times, the manner and method of agriculture has undergone many radical changes since the first contact with Europeans. The modification of this branch of their culture has been so thorough that we can only construct, from survivals and tradition, an idea of its former state.

The villages were surrounded by fertile spaces, cleared of timber and other vegetation by burning in dry springtime. These spaces were converted into garden patches where vegetables were sown and tended as they grew up, by a daily but irregularly-timed cultivation.

It is not now remembered whether particular parts of the arable ground were the personal property of the individuals or clans. Hawkins states, however, that both men and women labored together; the Yuchi differing in this respect from the Creeks. The old people and children found daily employment in acting as guardians over the growing crops, in driving away crows, blackbirds and other troublesome creatures.

In general, the land of the tribe belonged to whosoever occupied or utilized it. The boundaries of fields, plantations and real estate holdings, where encroachment was likely to occur, were marked by upright corner stones with distinguishing signs on them to indicate the claim. A man would simply adopt some optional design or figure as his brand and make this his property mark. Trees were also blazed to mark off property limits. In blazing, a piece of bark about as large as the hand was sliced off about five feet from the ground, leaving the white wood exposed. Sometimes the space was marked with pigment. The above devices are still in common use throughout the Creek Nation.

The most important native vegetables were flint corn, *tsoi*$^{\varepsilon}$*o'*, beans, *tsodi'*, sweet potatoes, *tosä*^{n}*'*, melons, *tcä*^{n}, pumpkins and squashes. These are believed to have been given the Yuchi by the supernatural being, Sun. Tobacco, *ī'tcī*, was grown by each family near the house. This was believed to have originated from drops of semen. The plant was named by a boy, in mythical times, and distributed among the people for their use. When tobacco was smoked sumach leaves were added to it. Gourds were also raised, to be used as household receptacles.

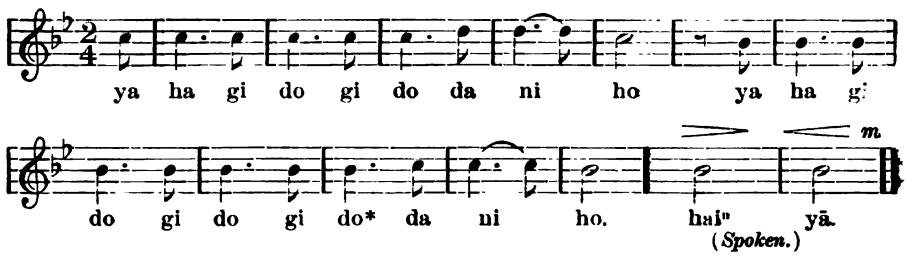
When the crops of corn and other vegetables were taken in they were stored away in outhouses and cribs, *dadá*, raised on posts, to be used when wanted.

Before the harvest could be devoted to general use, however, it was thought necessary to perform certain ceremonies of personal purification and propitiation in behalf of the supernatural beings who gave the crops and who brought them to maturity. Taking into account the number and importa of such rites together with the amount of daily time and labor that devoted to the cultivation of the crops, we are led into the general clas tion of the Yuchi as an agricultural type of people.

Hunting.

Hunting was pursued by the men either singly or in bands. While the attendance upon the crops kept them at home much of the time, there were seasons of comparative idleness during which parties set off on the hunt. The flesh of nearly all the mammals and birds of their habitat was eaten by the Yuchi with the exception of such as were sacred for ceremonial purposes or were protected by some taboo. The chief game animals hunted by them for their flesh were the deer, *wē^{ɛ}yA$^{n'}$*, bison, *wedīngá*, bear, *sag^{ɛ}ē'*, raccoon, *djatyA$^{n'}$*, opossum, *wAtsagowA$^{n'}$*, rabbit, *cádjwané*, squirrel, *cayá;* while those whose skins were chiefly sought after were the panther, *wētc^{ɛ}A$^{n'}$*, wildcat, *pocī'*, fox, *cad^{ɛ}ané*, wolf, *dałá*, otter, *culané*, beaver, *cagä$^{n'}$*, and skunk, *yūs^{ɛ}A$^{n'}$*. The flesh of these was also eaten at times. Wild turkeys, *wctc^{ɛ}ä'*, quail, *spä^{n}sī'*, partridge, ducks, geese and other birds were continually hunted for food.

The game animals were believed to be very cunning and wise in knowing how to avoid being captured. So in order to blind their senses, and to overcome their guardian spirits, the magic power of certain song burdens was employed by hunters. Shamans held these formulas in their possession and could be induced to accompany the hunting party to the field to aid in the bewitching of the quarry. Shamans might also teach the formula to some one for the same purpose, upon the payment of some price or upon being promised a share in the spoils.

One of these songs used for charming the deer is,

*The syllables *gi do* are sometimes given three times, sometimes four, with no seeming regularity.

Not only had the hunter himself to be careful to keep the game animals and supernatural protectors well disposed toward him by observing all the taboos, but those connected with him in any way had to be careful too. This was particularly true in regard to his wife. Her main care was to remain faithful in her husband's absence, no matter how long he might be away. Any remissness on her part would cause his guiding spirit to leave him and then his hunt would turn out unsuccessful.

Besides these magic aids the Yuchi made use of more material means to bring down game. The bow and arrow and blowgun were the chief hunting implements, while a kind of deer call was carried on a string about the neck to call the bucks during the rutting season and the does when they were rearing their fawns.

The bow, *estadē'* (Fig. 1), is a single almost straight stave of bois d'arc

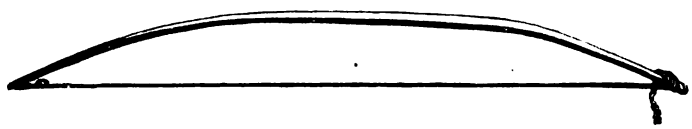


Fig. 1. Bow.

(*Toxylon pomiferum*) or Osage Orange, about five feet in length. Sassafras and hickory bows were sometimes made. No backing of sinew is known to have been used. The stave is broadest in the middle, where it is about one and one-half inches in width, tapering to one inch at the ends. The thickness of the stave is about three-quarters of an inch. The rich dark color of the wood is brought out by greasing. In section the bow is almost rectangular. The ends are cut out into little knobs of several shapes (Fig. 2) to hold the

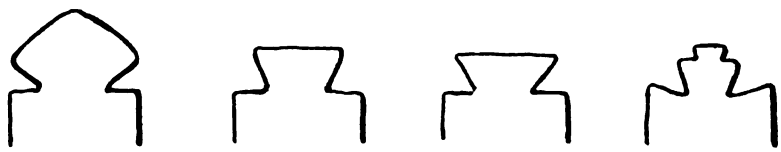


Fig. 2. Bow Notching.

string. The bow string is made of deer sinew, *yᴀⁿhī'*, or strips of rawhide twisted tightly. Squirrel skins are much in use for bow strings. The skin is cut around the edge spirally toward the center, thus giving a single long strip. As extra strength is desired, four such strips are twisted together, forming quite a thick cord. A guard, *goⁿsāfānē*, of leather is used by archers to protect the wrist from the bow string when this is released. The guard is bound on by two thongs attached to holes in the leather (Fig. 3).

Arrows, *ła cū'*, for hunting are made of the straight twigs of arrow-wood or of cane stalks of the proper thickness (Fig. 4). In the former case it was only necessary to scrape off the bark and season the twigs. The Yuchi do not seem to have had the idea of the fore-shaft. The point, *łacipá*, which was formerly of stone is nowadays made of iron and is bound by means of sinew into a split in the shaft (Fig. 4). The arrows are feathered preferably with hawk feathers, as the Indians believe the hawk to be swift and sure in

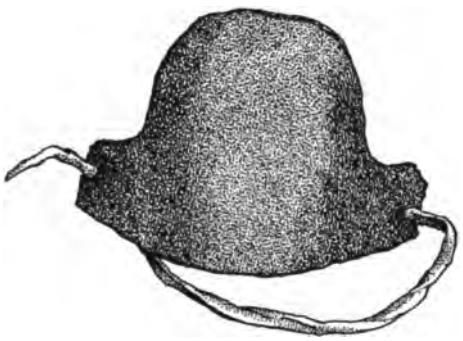


Fig. 3. Wrist Guard.

its flight. Turkey tail feathers are much used also. The split plumes, two in number, are bound to the shaft at both ends with sinew. One side of the feather is shaved clean of ribs up to within an inch of the outer end. The lower or base end of the quill is then lashed on flat.

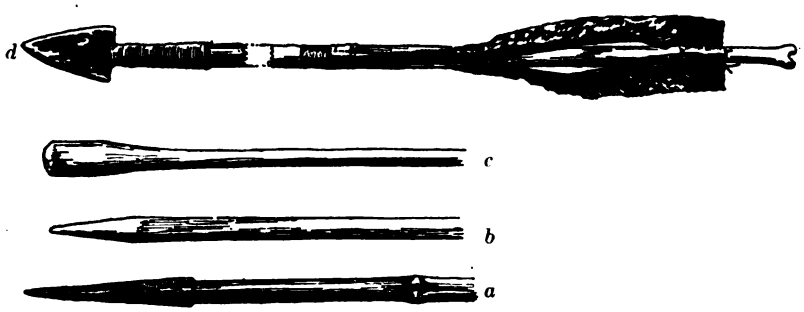


Fig. 4. Arrows.

The outer end is turned down and the turned down length is lashed on. In this way an ingenious twist is given to the feather, which causes the arrow to revolve in its flight, acting on the principle of the rifled bullet (Fig. 4, d). There is some diversity in the length of the arrow shaft and in the size of the arrow head. For killing large game and in warfare the shafts used are almost three feet long with iron triangular arrow heads. But in hunting

small game they have simple round sharpened shafts which are seasoned in heat to make them stiff (Fig. 4, b). The arrows used for shooting fish are somewhat different from the ones described above, as we shall see. Blunt wooden-headed arrows, so common everywhere, were also used for stunning small animals and birds (Fig. 4, c).

The arrow shaft in all cases is cylindrical, and of the same width throughout. In some specimens, however, there is a slight widening at the notch to give a better grip. Several instances were also noticed where there were two notches at right angles to each other. This feature, according to the native idea, makes it possible for the shooter to send his arrow so that the iron point is either vertical or horizontal. In the former case the point passes more readily between the ribs of deer, bison and other animals, while in the latter case it is designed to pass between the ribs of man. The double notching also facilitates adjustment in rapid shooting. An old arrow, one that has seen use, is thought to shoot better and to be more effective in general than a new one. In shooting with the bow it is held nearly vertically, the release to the string being given by the index finger, between the third joint of which and the thumb the butt of arrow is grasped. The release, in general terms, comes nearest to that described by Mason as the tertiary release.[1]

One form of the blowgun, which is obsolete now, was, according to memory, made of a cane stalk with the pith removed. It was between five and a half and six feet long. The darts were made of hard wood, the points being charred and sharpened. A tuft of cotton wrapped about the end of the dart like a wad formed the piston. This was almost exclusively used for bringing down small animals, squirrels and birds.

Another part of the former hunter's outfit was, frequently, a stuffed deer head which he put over his shoulders or elevated on a stick in front of him when he was approaching the deer. Thus disguised he could be surer of getting a favorable shot. The formula given above was sung at intervals during this process of getting nearer.

Dogs, *tsené*, have always been the invariable companions of the hunters, whether alone or in bands, their principal office being to track game and hold it at bay. The present Indian dogs are mongrels showing intermixture with every imaginable strain, but the wolfish appearance and habits of many of them would suggest that their semi-domestic ancestors were of the wolf breed.

Hunters are usually proficient in calling wild turkeys by several means. One instrument made for this purpose is the hollow secondary wing bone of the turkey, about five inches in length. The hunter draws in his breath through this tube, making a noise which can best be described as a combination of

[1] North American Bows, Arrows and Quivers, O. T. Mason, Smithsonian Reports (1893), p. 636.

smacking, squeaking and sucking. By skillfully operating the calls the birds are lured within range. Sometimes the palm of the hand is employed in making the noise. Another device is to grate a piece of stone on the top of a nail driven fast into a piece of wood. The rasping sound produced in this way will answer quite effectively as a turkey call if manipulated with skill.

The Yuchi do not seem to have used the deer fence so common in many parts of America. They have been known, however, to employ a method of driving game from its shelter to places where hunters were stationed, by means of fire. Grassy prairies were ignited and when the frightened animals fled to water they were secured by the band of hunters who were posted there.

The deer call, *wē^{ɛ}yA^{n}kané*, mentioned before, which is used in calling deer within range, is a rather complex instrument and probably a borrowed one, at least in its present form (Fig. 5). A hollow horn is fitted with a wooden mouthpiece which contains a small brass vibrating tongue. When blown this gives a rather shrill but weak sound which can be modified greatly by blowing softly or violently. A tremulous tone like the cry of a fawn is made by moving the palm of the hand over the opening of the horn. Much individual skill is shown by the hunters in using this instrument.

Fig. 5. Deer Call.

Fishing.

Quite naturally fishing plays an important part in the life of the Yuchi who have almost always lived near streams furnishing fish in abundance. Catfish, *cū djɛ́á*, garfish, pike, *cū cpá*, bass, *cū wadá*, and many other kinds are eagerly sought for by families and sometimes by whole communities at a time, to vary their diet. We find widely distributed among the people of the Southeast a characteristic method of getting fish by utilizing certain vegetable poisons which are thrown into the water. Among the Yuchi the practice is as follows. During the months of July and August many families gather at the banks of some convenient creek for the purpose of securing quantities of fish and, to a certain extent, of intermingling socially for a short time. A large stock of roots of devil's shoestring (*Tephrosia virginiana*) is laid up and tied in bundles beforehand. The event usually occurs at a place where rifts cause shallow water below and above a well-stocked pool. Stakes are driven close together at the rifts to act as barriers to the passage and escape of the fish. Then the bundles of roots (Fig. 6) are thrown in and the people enter the water to stir it up. This has the effect of causing the fish, when the poison has had time to act, to rise to the surface, bellies up, seemingly dead. They are then gathered by both men and women and carried away in baskets to be dried for future use, or consumed in a feast which ends the event. The catch is equally divided among

those present. Upon such an occasion, as soon as the fish appear floating on the surface of the water, the Indians leap, yell and set to dancing in exuberance. If a stranger comes along at such a time he is taken by the hand and presented with the choicest fish.

As the fish are taken out they may be cleaned and salted for preservation, or roasted and eaten on the spot. A favorite method of cleaning fish the instant they are caught, is to draw out the intestines with a hook through the anus, without cutting the fish open. A cottonwood stick shaved of its outer bark is then inserted in the fish from tail to head. The whole is thickly covered with mud and put in the embers of a fire. When the mud cracks off the roast is done and ready to eat. The cottonwood stick gives a much-liked flavor to the flesh.

In the way of a comparison, we find that the Creeks use pounded buckeye or horse chestnuts for the same purpose. Two men enter the water and strain the buckeye juice through bags. The Creeks claim that the devil's shoestring poison used by the Yuchi floats on the water, thus passing away down stream,

Fig. 6. Bundle of Poisonous Roots.

while the buckeye sinks and does better work. It is probable, however, that neither method of poisoning the streams is used exclusively by these tribes, but that the people of certain districts favor one or the other method, according to the time of year and locality. The flesh of the fish killed in this way is perfectly palatable.

It frequently happens that the poison is not strong enough to thoroughly stupefy the fish. In such a case the men are at hand with bows and arrows, to shoot them as they flounder about trying to escape or to keep near the bottom of the pool. The arrows used for shooting fish are different from those used in hunting. They are generally unfeathered shafts with charred points, but the better ones are provided with points like cones made by pounding a piece of some flat metal over the end of the shaft (Fig. 4, a). The men frequently go to the larger streams where the poison method would not be as effective, and shoot fish with these heavy tipped arrows either from the shores or from canoes. Simple harpoons of cane whittled to a sharp point are used in the killing of larger fish which swim near the surface, or wooden spears

with fire-hardened points are thrown at them when found lurking near the banks.

Formerly the Yuchi made use also of basket fish traps. These were quite large, being ordinarily about three feet or more in diameter and from six to ten feet in length. They were cylindrical in shape, with one end open and an indented funnel-shaped passageway leading to the interior. The warp splints of this indenture ended in sharp points left free. As these pointed inward they allowed the fish to pass readily in entering, but offered an obstruction to their exit. The other end of the trap was closed up, but the covering could be removed to remove the contents. Willow sticks composed the warp standards, while the wicker filling was of shaved hickory splints. The trap was weighted down in the water and chunks of meat were put in it for bait.

Gaff-hooks for fishing do not seem to have been used, according to the older men, until they obtained pins from the whites, when the Yuchi learned how to make fish hooks of them. Prior to this, nevertheless, they had several gorge-hook devices for baiting and snagging fish. A stick with pointed reverse barbs whittled along it near the end was covered with some white meat and drawn, or trolled, rapidly through the water on a line. When a fish swallowed the bait the angler gave the line a tug and the barbs caught the fish in the stomach. Another method was to tie together the ends of a springy, sharp-pointed splinter and cover the whole with meat for bait. When this gorge device was swallowed the binding soon disintegrated, the sharp ends being released killed the fish and held it fast. Lines thus baited were set in numbers along the banks of streams and visited regularly by fishermen.

Pottery and Work in Clay.

The sedentary life of the Yuchi has given ample opportunity for the development of the art of making pottery. The coiled process is in vogue, but it may be remarked that the modern pots of these Indians are of a rather crude and unfinished form, which is probably traceable to deterioration in later years.

The process of manufacture of ordinary pots for domestic use is as follows. A fine consistent clay is selected and washed in a flat vessel to separate all grit and stones from it. Then lumps are rolled between the palms and elongated in the form of sticks. A flat piece, the size of the bottom of the desired pot, is made and the lengths or sticks of rolled clay are coiled around on this base and so built up until the proper height and form is obtained. Whatever decorations are to be added are now either produced by incision with a sharp stick or by impression with a stick or shell. The whole surface is afterwards scraped with a fresh-water mussel shell, *ctä"gané* (Fig. 7), until the outside of the pot is smooth, and then, with the back of the shell, the scraped

surface is rubbed to varying degrees of polish, or the hand may be used to give a dull lustre to the surface. The surface is moistened after the clay is dry and then rubbed until it assumes a fairly permanent polish. The pot is next allowed to dry for a few days out of the sunshine. Then it is baked near a fire. When several pots are being baked they are arranged in rows at a little distance from the fire on each side of it and turned at intervals. These pots become hard and brick-like and may be used directly over flames. If they are not baked they are used as household receptacles or dishes and not put near fire. This industry is entirely in the hands of women.

Fig. 7. Shell Scraper.

Pots, *s^{e}ā'cū dīdané*, 'earthen bowl,' or *dīda$^{w'}$* (Pl. III), which are made in general for ordinary domestic use are of several different shapes. The outlines shown in Fig. 8, *a*, *b*, *c*, *d*, *f* are the commonest. The low flat type, *a*, is ordinarily used for food dishes or receptacles for boiled beans and corn. They are usually about eight inches in diameter and three in height. A series of conventional straight lines running obliquely is often incised upon these vessels for the purpose of decoration, but without any known interpretation. Outline *b* shows the shape of a class of pots used for boiling vegetables. They are held upright by means of stones placed around the base. Their size is variable, ranging from those having a capacity of about three quarts to those holding five or six quarts. A little decoration, in the way of shallow impressions of semicircles, frequently appears near the rim of these boiling vessels to give, it is said, a decorative effect. The type represented by *c* is of an unusually rough and unfinished appearance and is said to be used to mix flour and dough in. The flat bottomed pot *d*, with a wide opening and almost straight sides, is the regular boiled corn soup pot which is made in different sizes according to the size of the family; they hold two quarts at least, and stand about the house or camp with food in them ready to be eaten cold or warm at any time. The two latter types do not bear on them any attempt at

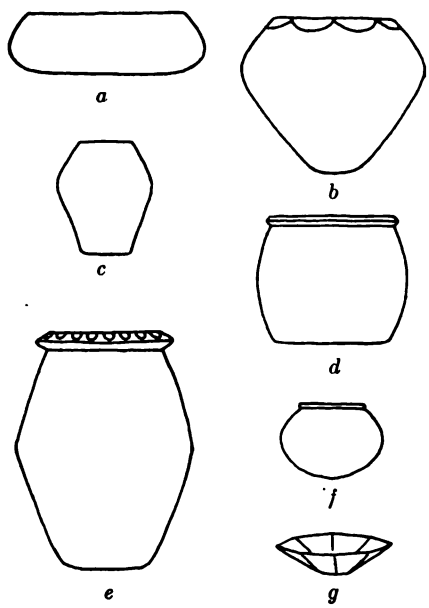


Fig. 8. Outlines of Pots.

decoration whatever. Small cup-like vessels, *f*, not more than three or four inches broad, with rounded bottoms, are made for general utility in holding seeds and other objects. This is said to be the kind of clay vessel put in the grave with the body at burial.

One type of vessel, however, which is manufactured particularly for ceremonial purposes is invariably ornamented on a specially made portion about the rim. This type of pot (Fig. 8, *e*, Plate III, Fig. 9) is used as the receptacle for the sacred concoctions at the annual ceremonies, the crescent-shaped impressions on the lip being said to represent the sun and moon, the former of which is the chief figure in mythology and the supernatural object of worship in the tribal ceremonies. The height of these pots, two of which are used during the ceremonial events, is never less than twelve inches. The crescent-like impressions are made with a bent-up twig when the clay is soft before being burnt.

The little platter *yáda dané* (Fig. 8, *g*, and Pl. III, Fig. 1), which is about three inches in diameter, is another form for a special purpose. It is made for the use

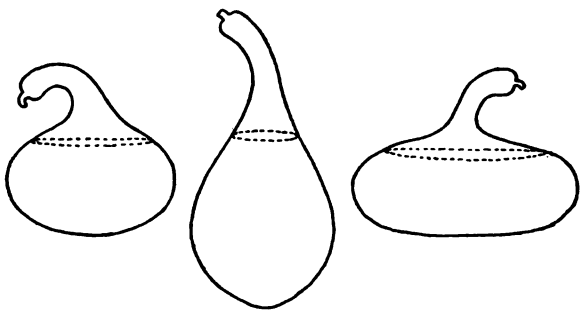


Fig. 9. Outlines of Gourds.

of women who are in seclusion away from the main dwelling during their menstrual periods. As these little trays are only used to carry food in to such women they are left unbaked. When their function has been performed they are destroyed with other objects which have come into contact with women in this state.

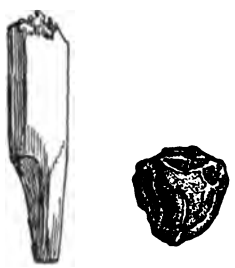
It is noticeable in the above pottery forms, which are designed solely for domestic use, that no particular decoration is given them. But where this does occur at all it is always on or near the rim and never on the body of the vessel. Specimen 5, Pl. III, and Fig. 8, *b*, have a curved impression surrounding the rim which is said to represent the moon. The series of oblique scratches on specimen 8, Pl. III, had no meaning or name given them.

A question of origin naturally arises here, in relation to the pottery industry of this tribe, which seems to deserve mention at least. The prominence of the

gourd shape, or that of the pumpkin or squash, may have had some influence upon the development of forms in Yuchi pottery. The outline figures and the general appearance of pots suggest this question. The Yuchi themselves comment on the similarity between the shape of pots and pumpkins, and when asked about the form of this or that pot, the answer frequently is "It is like a pumpkin or gourd." The figures show how this similarity in form appears (Fig. 9). The similarity is further carried out by the smoothness of the body of the pots, and the diminishing diameter near the top. The drinking gourds found in use today, and the gourd receptacles used about the camps in the same way as pottery receptacles are similar to these in shape. The suspicion of this relationship between pottery forms and pumpkins or gourds was aroused by the replies given to questions which were asked in trying to find out whether the pottery shapes symbolized or represented anything else. For instance the bowls of wooden spoons are supposed to represent wolf ears.

It may be said of the modern Yuchi pottery forms that, according to the description given by Holmes[1], they bear more resemblance to those of the prehistoric Chesapeake-Potomac group in their prevalent gourd-like outline and lack of ornamentation on the body, than they do to the highly ornamented and complex forms of the Southern Appalachian group.

PIPES.—A large number of tobacco pipes of clay, *sācū' yūdᴱē'*, 'earth pipes' (Fig. 11), were formerly made and used by the Yuchi. The variety in form shown by these pipes indicates that at an earlier time work in clay must have been a rather important activity with them. It seems that pipe making was, and is yet to a limited extent, practiced by the men. Clay is prepared in the manner described before for pots, and made into lengths about an inch in diameter. With a knife, cylinders of various lengths are cut out which are to be bent and hollowed into desired forms for the pipes. This shaping is done with the knife, the sides being shaved down round or square and the angles squared to suit the artisan's taste. The narrower end is twisted at right angles to the bowl to form the stem-holder. The knife is then used to gouge out and hollow the bowl. A small pointed stick (Fig. 10, *a*) is twisted into the stem end to make a hole for the stem, and when it has nearly reached the bowl cavity a small sharp twig is used to connect the two openings. After the exterior has been finished off with the knife the pipe is complete except for a cane or hollow twig stem. A piece of flint (Fig. 10, *b*) is often used to rub the pipe with and give it a polish, but generally none is thought necessary. The making



a *b*

Fig. 10. Pipe Borer (*a*) and Polishing Stone (*b*)

[1] Twentieth Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology.

Fig. 11. Clay Pipes.

of effigy forms in pipes is mostly done by pressing and shaping with the fingers. The pipes are seldom baked, as this is gradually effected when they are lighted and put into use.

There seems to be no limit to the forms which different individuals give to the pipes they make. Personal taste appears to play an important part, however, within certain broad but traditional limits. The pipe forms observed seem to fall into a few different classes. It may be said that the commonest type is that having a stem-base at right angles to the bowl as illustrated in some of the examples shown in Fig. 11. These are rather small pipes, averaging a little over an inch in height. The bowls are squared, rounded or formed into hexagons. Another sort is barrel-shaped, also with different sectional forms and of the same small size as the first. These lack the stem-base, having the reed or cane stem inserted directly into the bowl. A third general type has a much larger and heavier form and suggests the catlinite calumet forms met with among the Plains Indians. The red color and carefully given polish of the specimens under discussion increase the apparent similarity between the two.

Effigy pipes (see Fig. 11) are favorites with the Yuchi and often show considerable skill on the part of the maker in imitating living forms. It is rather curious that those representing the human face never have eyes. The rings sometimes seen about the rim represent the Sun, who is the tutelary deity of the Yuchi. The frequent occurrence of the frog form in pipes is explained by the desire on the part of the men to emulate the Wind, a supernatural being who, according to the myth, used a frog for his pipe and a snake for the pipe-stem during one of his journeys.

A noticeable similarity in form appears between the modern pipes of the Yuchi and those found in the burial mounds of the Appalachian region, described by Holmes.[1]

The collections of objects from the mounds of Alabama, Georgia and Florida made by Mr. Clarence B. Moore[2] also contain many pipes in stone and earthenware which resemble the forms known to the modern Yuchi and illustrated in Fig. 11.

CLAY FIGURES.—The Yuchi men sometimes mould by hand pressure small figures of animals or parts of animals in clay. Just what part these clay figures play in their life it is hard to say. It would seem, however, that they are merely the product of an idle hour or are based on some esthetic motives. Where quite a little work is being done in clay by the women in making pots and by men who are fashioning smoking pipes, it would seem natural that some would idly try to shape, out of the unused material, figures

[1] Twentieth Report Bureau American Ethnology, Pls. cxxiv, cxxv, cxxvi.

[2] Journal of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia, X, XI, XII, etc.

of objects familiar to them in their daily environment. The figures of this sort are rather clumsy and naturally fragile since they are not baked. The specimens on which this description is based are a crudely made lizard about eight inches long, several life-size frogs, and a cow's head several inches in height (Fig. 12). Another correspondence between the modern Yuchi and the ancient inhabitants of the Southeast is to be found in these clay figures. Mr. Moore in his archaeological explorations of the mounds of Volusia Co., Florida,[1] found numbers of rude clay figures among which some of the animal forms resemble the ones given here and obtained from the modern Yuchi. The general technique in both modern and prehistoric specimens is similar.

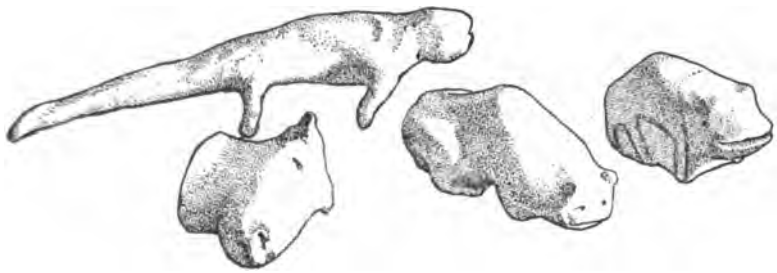


Fig. 12. Clay Figures.

Finally it must be noted, in regard to the subject of pottery and work in clay, that this branch of native handicraft has undergone a great deterioration since the beginning of contact between the Yuchi and Europeans, and that the progress of decline in this, as in other arts, has been much more rapid in the last twenty-five years. Most of the specimens described above were obtained by request, whereupon some were brought from remote districts where they may have been in actual use while others were fac-similes made for the occasion by reliable persons.

Basket Making.

Another handicraft in the seemingly well-rounded industrial life of the Yuchi is basket making. The women possess the knowledge of at least two processes of basket weaving; the checker work and the twilled. The baskets in general are of two sorts. One is a large rough kind made of hickory or oak splints not unlike the ordinary splint baskets made by the Algonkian tribes, with handles for carrying. The other kind, in the manufacture of which cane rinds are chiefly employed, is distinctly characteristic of the Southeastern and Gulf area. A collection of Yuchi baskets resembles those of the Choctaw or Chitimacha in general appearance and technique, although the Yuchi forms

[1] Collection of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia.

obtainable today do not show as much diversity as the others. In their present location, unfortunately, the Yuchi are handicapped by the lack of basket stuffs, while the other tribes still occupy territory where cane is abundant. This may perhaps be the reason why we find the Yuchi comparatively deficient in variety of basket forms and weaves, when other tribes of the southern or Gulf area, as the Chitimacha, Attakapa and Choctaw, are considered. The regular basket material is cane (*Arundinaria*). For baskets of the common household storage type, intended as well for general domestic utility, the cane rind is the part used, as the outside is fine and smooth. Splints from the inner portion of the cane stalk are employed in the construction of basket sieves and other coarser types. The forms and outlines of common utility baskets, *dāstī'*, shown in Pl. IV, Figs. 1, 2, seem to resemble the common pottery forms in having the opening somewhat narrower than the bottom. Another type of basket (Pl. IV, 5, 7) is the flat one used in the preparation of corn meal. The largest of this class is two feet in breadth with walls not more than an inch or so high. This tray basket is used with another, the sieve (Pl. IV, 6), which is also rather flat but not so much so as the former. The bottom of the sieve basket is of open work. Corn meal is sifted through this into the broad tray. Some idea of their respective proportions is given in Pl. IV, Figs. 5, 6. The plan of the bottom of all of the basket forms described is rectangular in general, while that of the top is nearly round; at any rate, without angles. The sides of the typical basket invariably slope inward with a rounding outline. This form, as can be readily seen, is largely determined by the nature of the weave.

Nearly all baskets of this region, with little exception, are manufactured by the twilled process of weaving. It is noticeable that the bottom is customarily done in one pattern of twill and the sides in another variety of the same. For example, we find one of the common forms like *a*, Fig. 13, woven at the bottom in the two over two under pattern, but when the turn for the sides is reached the vertical strands no longer run in twos but are separated, each simply alternating in crossing over two weft strands; the weft in its turn crossing four of the warp strands. This mixture of technique seems to be a favorite thing with the Yuchi weavers. Such purposeless variations in weave may be attributable to the rhythmic play motive which Dr. Boas has recently shown[1] to be prominent in the technique of many primitive tribes. An example is shown in Pl. IV, 2, 3, where a matting bottom (Fig. 13, *a*) is turned up into a woven side *b* with an over four under four weft. The relationship between ordinary mats and baskets consequently appears to be a very close one. At almost any stage in the process of mat weaving it appears

[1] Decorative Designs of Alaskan Needlecases, Proceedings of United States National Museum, Vol. xxxiv, p. 339-40.

that the operator can turn the strands up, fill in with a weft, and change the product into a basket.

Some examples of the varieties of twill which enter into the construction of mats and baskets are given in Fig. 13. The common diaper pattern may appear woven with double strands producing the variety shown in *a*. Baskets with

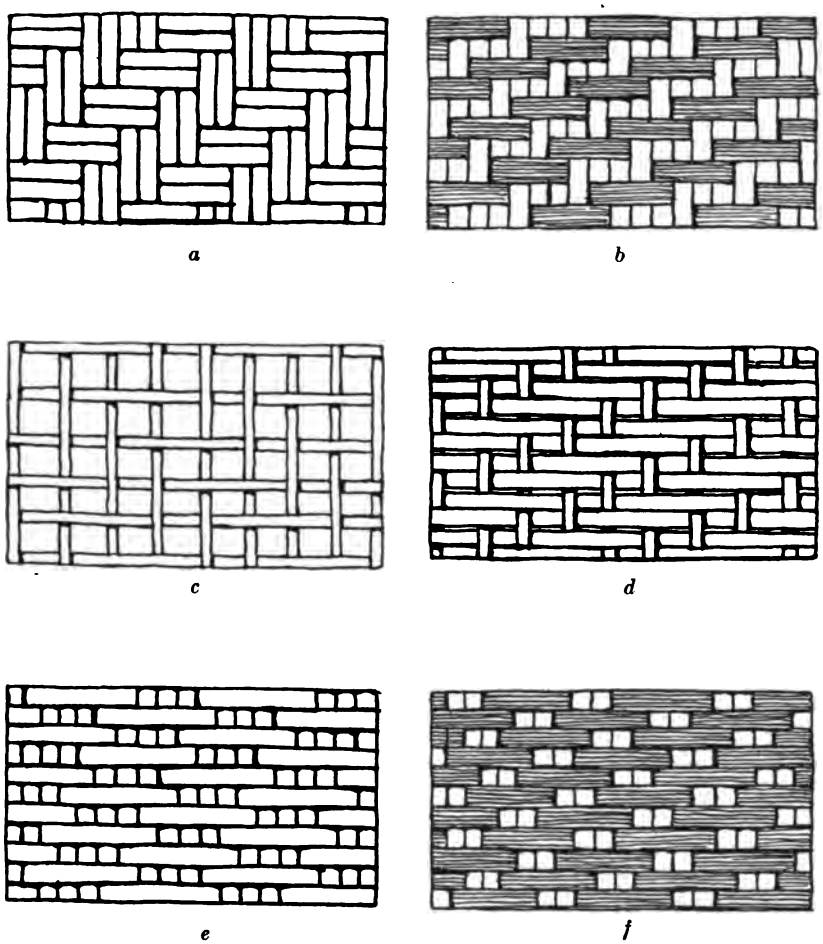


Fig. 13. Basket Weaves.

this weave in the bottom and an over four under four on the sides are most characteristic, as will be seen. The basket sieves outlined before are woven in open mesh on the bottom, leaving open squares about one third of an inch square, *c*. Here the twill is the same, over two and under two as in Fig. 13, *a*,

but done with narrower splints. The sides, however, of the basket sieve are filled in with weft strands going over two and under two, thus closing up the open spaces, as shown in *d*. The other cuts show some different varieties in which the number of warps crossed by the weft strands vary. Fig. 13, *b* is from the side of the work baskets in which the bottom appears as shown in *a*. The others, *e* and *f*, show the mat twill, the style that is oftenest found in the basket trays. The sides of the tray are changed to an over four under four twill as in *b*. The latter are held in the lap to catch the sifted corn meal that is shaken through the sieve. The use of the basket sieve, however, and this tray will be described in more detail later.

The basket border is commonly formed of a few warp lengths bent down and wrapped by a runner of cane. A row of twined weaving underneath this holds in place the warp strands that have to be cut off. The figure[1] illustrates this border finishing very well (Fig. 14).

Fig. 14. Basket Border Finishing.

Intentional decorative designs seem to be almost entirely lacking in the baskets of today, and it is impossible to say whether or not they ever developed such designs. About the only decorative effect attempted seems to be the employment of cane splints of different shades of red and yellow in the weaving. Rather pretty diagonal patterns are in this way brought out, but they seem to have no assigned meaning or names. These patterns are quite evidently accidental in many instances, for the mere presence of one or two different colored splints in the warp and woof would work out into some geometrical pattern without any previous knowledge as to what this would be.

Other Occupations.

Wood Working.—The Yuchi men spend part of their time, when not engaged directly in procuring food, in manufacturing various useful artieles out of wood. One form of knife, *yā"lībō'*, 'knife bent,' used in whittling such objects, consists of a piece of iron curved at one end and sharpened on the side

[1] Taken from Mason's Aboriginal American Basketry in Report of U. S. National Museum, 1902.

after the fashion of a farrier's knife (Fig. 15). The handle part of the metal is bound around with cloth or skin to soften it for the grasp. The wood worker draws the knife towards himself in carving. Thus are made ladles, spoons, and other objects that come in handy about the house. Larger objects of wood are shaped not only by whittling with knives, but by burning. For instance dug-out canoes, *tcū sī'*, were made of cypress trunks hollowed out in the center by means of fire. As the wood became charred it was scraped away so that the fire could attack a fresh surface, and so on until the necessary part was removed.

Fig. 15. Crooked Knife.

It sometimes falls to the lot of women to help in the manufacture of certain wooden objects. One such case is to be seen in the hollowing out of the cavity of the corn mortar. After the man has sectioned a hickory log of the proper length and diameter, about 30 by 14 inches, he turns the matter over to several women of his household. They start a fire on top of the log, which is stood up on end. The fire is intended to burn away the heart of the log, so, to control its advance and to keep it going, two women blow upon it through hollow canes. By pouring water on the edge the fire is kept within bounds and confined to the center. As the wood becomes charred it is scraped away, as usual, with the shells of fresh water mussels.

No decorative effects are produced in wood carving nor is it likely that any particular development in technique was reached by the carvers in former times.

Preparing Hides and Sewing.—In preparing hides and skins for use the brains of animals are employed to soften and preserve them. Hides are placed over a log, one end of which is held between the knees while the other rests on the ground, and are then scraped with a scraping implement to remove the hair. The scraper, *ts^{e}amē'satānē*, for this purpose is a round piece of wood about twelve inches long with a piece of metal set in edgewise on one side, leaving room for a hand grip on each end (Fig. 16). This implement resembles the

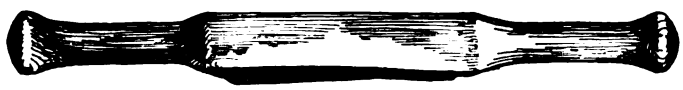


Fig. 16. Scraper.

ordinary spokeshave more than anything else. A sharp edged stone is said to have taken the place of the iron blade in early times. Hides are finally thoroughly smoked until they are brown, and kneaded to make them soft and durable.

Sewing is done by piercing holes in the edges to be joined with an awl. Two methods of stitching are known, the simple running stitch and the overhand. The latter, on account of its strength, is, however, more commonly used. Sinew and deerskin thongs are employed for thread.

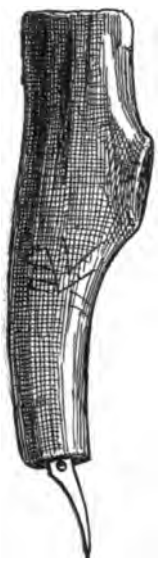


Fig. 17. Awl.

One specimen of awl, for sewing and basket making, consists of a piece of deer antler about six inches long into which a sharp pointed piece of metal is firmly inserted (Fig. 17). Bone is supposed to have been used for the point part before metal was obtainable. Several chevron-like scratches on the handle of this specimen are property marks.

A few knots and tying devices observed in use and on specimens, are given in Fig. 18. Softened deerskin thongs were employed for tying and binding purposes.

SHEET METAL WORK.—The manufacture of German silver ornaments, such as finger rings, earrings, bracelets, arm bands, breast pendants, head bands and brooches, seems to have been, for a long time, one of the handicrafts practiced by the Yuchi men. This art has now almost passed away among them and fallen into the hands of their Shawnee neighbors. The objects mentioned in the list were made of what appears to be copper, brass and zinc alloy. The metal was obtained from the whites, and then fashioned into desired shapes by cutting, beating, bending, and punching in the cold state. The favorite method of ornamentation was to punch stars, circles, ovals, curves, scalloped lines, and crescents in the outer surface of the object. Sometimes the metal was punched completely through to produce

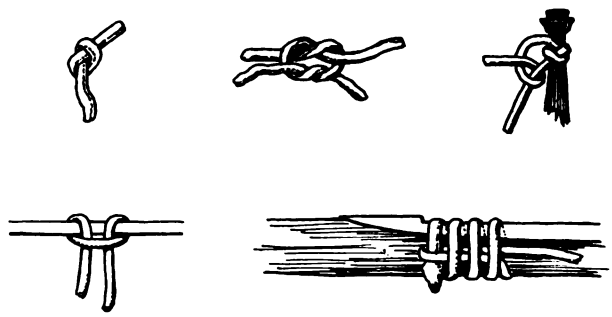


Fig. 18. Tying Devices.

an open-work effect. Several pieces of metal were sometimes fastened together by riveting. Ornamental effects were added to the edges of objects by trimming and scalloping. It is also common to see fluting near the borders of bracelets and pendants. Judging from the technique in modern specimens, metal

workers have shown considerable skill in working out their patterns. It is possible, moreover, that this art was practiced in pre-historic times with sheet copper for working material, in some cases possibly sheet gold, and that some of the ornaments, such as head bands, bracelets, arm bands and breast ornaments, were of native origin. Some of the ornamental metal objects will be described in connection with clothing.

Beadwork.—Like many other Indian tribes the Yuchi adopted the practice of decorating parts of their clothing with glass beads which they obtained from the whites. Beadwork, however, never reached the development with them that it did in other regions. What there was of this practice was entirely in the hands of the women. There were two ways of using the beads for decoration. One of these was to sew them onto strips of cloth or leather, making embroidered designs in outline, or filling in the space enclosed by the outline to make a solidly covered surface. The other way was to string the beads on the warp threads while weaving a fabric, so that the design produced by arranging the colors would appear on both sides of the woven piece. For the warp and woof horse hair came to be much in use. Objects decorated in the first fashion were moccasins, legging flaps, breechcloth ends, garter bands, belt sashes and girdles, tobacco pouches and shoulder straps. The more complex woven beadwork was used chiefly for hair ornaments and neckbands.

The designs which appear in beadwork upon these articles of clothing are mostly conventional and some are symbolical with various traditional interpretations. They will be described later. It should be observed here, however, that there is some reason to suspect that the beadwork of this tribe has been influenced by that of neighboring groups where beadwork is a matter of more prominence. The removal of the Yuchi and other southeastern tribes from their old homes in Georgia and Alabama to the West threw them into the range of foreign influence which must have modified some characteristics of their culture.

Stone Work.—Lastly we know, from the evidences of archeology, that at an early age the Yuchi, like the other Indians, were stone workers. All vestiges of this age, however, have passed beyond the recollection of the natives, so that nothing can be said first hand on the subject.

Houses.

As the native methods of house building have nearly all passed out of use some time ago, we have to depend upon descriptions from memory supplemented by observations made in the ceremonial camp where temporary shelters are made which preserve old methods of construction.

The dwelling house of the present-day Yuchi is like that of the ordinary white settler: a structure of squared or round notched logs, with a peak roof of home-made shingles and a door on one side. Windows may be present or not, according to the whim of the owner. The same is true of the fireplace, which may be an inside open grate at one end of the building, or a hearth in the middle of the room with smoke hole directly above. These houses show all possible grades of comfort and elaboration in their construction. Directly in front of the door it is customary to have a shade arbor raised where cooking is done. Here spare time is spent in comfortably lounging about while light occupations are carried on by various members of the family. Such a house is called *tsōlē'*, and may be, in its main idea, a survival of one form of original house. Bartram and other travelers who saw the southeastern Indians at an early date describe notched log houses among the Cherokee, so there is some possibility of the native origin of the simple square log house of the modern Yuchi and their neighbors the Creeks. Fortunately, however, we find in the work of Bartram[1] a fairly good, though short, description of the houses of the Yuchi as he saw them in the village on Chattahoochee river, Georgia, in 1791.

"The Uche town is situated on a vast plain, on the gradual ascent as we rise from a narrow strip of low ground immediately bordering on the river: it is the largest, most compact and best situated Indian town I ever saw; the habitations are large and neatly built; the walls of the houses are constructed of a wooden frame, then lathed and plastered inside and out with a reddish well tempered clay or mortar, which gives them the appearance of red brick walls, and these houses are neatly covered or roofed with cypress bark or shingles of that tree. The town appeared to be populous and thriving, full of youth and young children. . .. ."

At certain times of the year when the people remove from these permanent houses and assemble at some convenient place for hunting, fishing or social intercourse they commonly make use of tents with an open structure nearby in which much unoccupied time is spent during both night and day. With some families this open-sided structure is merely a shade arbor, and no care seems to be given to its appearance. But with others it serves as the dwelling upon occasions and is fitted out and furnished with some semblance of permanent occupancy. During the annual tribal ceremony of the corn harvest, when the assemblage of families is largest, these structures may be best seen. The following descriptions of these temporary dwellings, in which are preserved earlier forms of architecture, are based upon observations made at such times.

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 388.

To begin with, the camp shelters, as they are commonly called, are scattered irregularly about, in no wise forming a camp circle such as is found on the Plains or a camp square like that of the Chickasaw.[1] They are left standing after they have served once and are reoccupied by the owners when they return to the place where the ceremonial gatherings are held.

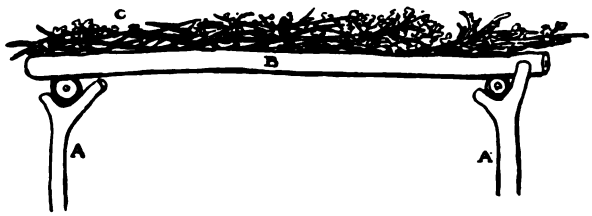


Fig. 19. Roof Support.

The ground space covered by a lodge of this sort varies somewhat, but may be said to be in general about sixteen feet by eighteen. The floor is simply the earth. Branches of oak with the leaves compose the roof (Figs. 19, 20, C). Eight feet above the ground is a common height for this dense screen of leaves. The branches themselves are supported by cross poles (B) resting on stout

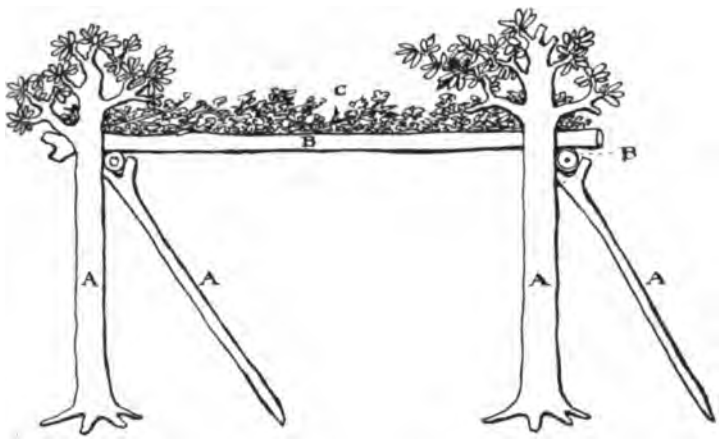


Fig. 20. Roof Support.

horizontal end pieces or beams. In the support of these beams, lodge builders employ different devices. One of these, and perhaps the commonest, is the simple forked or crotched post (Fig. 19, A). When trees happen to be handy, however, a modification has been observed in the roof support which shows a

[1] Cf. Journal of American Folk-Lore (1907), p. 50–58.

rather clever adaptation of the material at hand to suit the occasion. In such a case standing trees take the place of sunken posts, and forked posts with the beams resting in the crotch are leaned against them, as in Fig. 20, A.

The general ground plan of these camp shelters is square (Fig. 21). They usually stand east of the entrance to the tent (D). In the center of the ground space (A) blankets, skins and other materials to make comfort are strewn, and here the people eat, lounge and sleep. In one corner is a square storage scaffold or shelf (B) elevated about five feet above the ground. This is floored with straight sticks resting upon cross pieces which in turn are supported by uprights in the floor. On this scaffold is a heterogeneous pile of household untensils and property. Ball sticks, weapons, baskets, clothing, harness, blankets and in fact nearly everything not in immediate use is all packed away here out of reach of dogs and children. Out from under the roof to one side is the fireplace (C). The diagram (Fig. 21) gives the ground plan of one of these lodges.

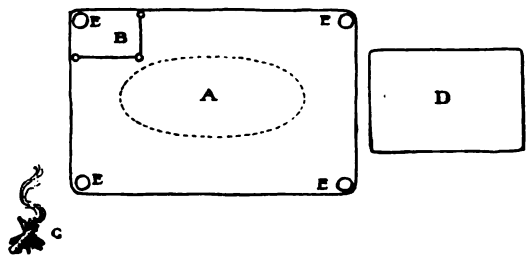


Fig. 21. Plan of Yuchi Dwelling.

The Yuchi remember still another type of family dwelling house which seems to show that the common house type of the Algonkian tribes bordering the Atlantic coast farther north was known to the Yuchi as well. We are informed by the Yuchi that the framework of this type of house, *yū*, consisted of poles stuck in the ground in parallel rows at certain distances apart. These were bent over and lashed together at the top, forming an arched passage underneath. The whole top and the sides were then covered with strips of bark cut entire from cypress trees and attached in overlapping layers to the cross pieces connecting the upright poles. Matting is also said to have been used as house covering material. Such structures are commonly remembered to have been about ten feet high and about sixteen feet square on the ground. The roof slabs were weighted down with halved logs secured at the ends to the framework. The fireplace was in the center of the floor space. It was excavated about six inches below the surface of the ground. A hole was left in the roof directly above the fireplace for the smoke to escape.

In the way of household furniture the Yuchi remember that beds, *tcu'fa*, used to consist of a framework of parallel sticks, supported by forked uprights, upon which skins were piled. These bench-like beds were ranged about the walls. Mats were suspended to form screens when desired.

Children were stowed away in hammock cradles when they were too young to walk. The hammock cradle is used very generally nowadays. It consists of a blanket stretched between two ropes. To keep the sides apart thwarts with notched ends are at the foot and head. The hammock is hung up out of doors from convenient trees, while in bad weather it is swung indoors from house posts or beams.

Domestic Utensils.

In the preparation of food several kinds of wooden utensils are employed. The largest and perhaps the most important piece of household furniture of this sort was the mortar, *dĭłá*, and pestle, *dĭcā łá*. The mortar (Pl. III, Fig. 10, *a*) which is simply a log several feet high with the bark removed having a cavity about eight inches deep, seems, moreover, to be an important domestic fetish. We find that it is connected in some way with the growing up and the future prospects of the children of the family. It occupies a permanent position in the door yard, or the space in front of the house. Only one mortar is owned by the family and there is a strong feeling, even today, against moving it about and particularly against selling it. We shall see later that the navel string of a female child is laid away underneath the mortar in the belief that the presiding spirit will guide the growing girl in the path of domestic efficiency.

The pestle that goes with this utensil is also of wood (Pl. III, Fig. 10, *b*). Its length is usually about six feet. The lower end that goes into the cavity

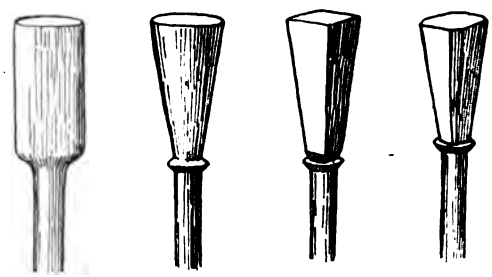


Fig. 22. Pestle Tops.

of the mortar and does the crushing is rounded off. The top of the pestle is left broad, to act as a weight and give force to its descent. Several forms of carving are to be observed in these clubbed pestle tops which are presumably ornamental, as shown in the cuts (Fig. 22).

Spoons, *yáda ctīné*, showing some variation in size and relative proportions, are found commonly in domestic service. They are all made of wood, said to be maple. The size of these varies from six or seven to fourteen inches. The bowl is usually rather deep and is widest and deepest near the handle. The latter is squared and straight with a crook near the end upon which an ownership mark consisting of a few scratches or incisions is frequently seen. Pl. VI, 3 shows common spoons used in eating soup or boiled vegetables. This type is said to represent, in the shape of the bowl, a wolf's ear and to be patterned after it.

Wooden paddle-shaped pot stirrers, *cadī'*, are nearly always to be seen where cooking is going on. They vary greatly in size and pattern. Ordinarily the top is simply disk-shaped. The use of the stirrer comes in when soup and vegetables are being boiled, to keep the mess from sticking to the pot. (See models in Fig. 36, *b*.)

Gourds, *tā'mbactū'*, of various shapes are made use of about the house in many different ways. They are easily obtained and require little or no labor to fit them for use. As drinking cups, general receptacles and dippers they come in very handy. A common drinking ladle is shown in Figure 23. Besides these utensils, of course, baskets, mats, and pots, which have been dealt with already, figure prominently in the household economy. Pots are used chiefly as cooking vessels and receptacles from which prepared food is eaten. Baskets are commonly used for storing things away, for carrying purposes and for the keeping of ornaments, trinkets, small utensils and other personal effects. The several specialized forms, the riddle, or basket sieve, and the fan, or flat basket tray, are, as has been mentioned, used directly in the preparation of corn for food. The part they play will be described in more detail in another place.

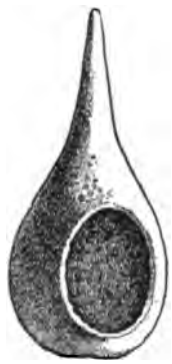


Fig. 23.
Drinking Gourd.

Food and its Preparation.

Fire Making.—In the preparation of most vegetable and animal products for consumption fire is an indispensable agent. It is also procured for ceremonial purposes. To obtain it the Yuchi claim that originally two pieces of stone were struck together, either two pieces of flint or a piece of flint and a piece of quartz or pyrites. In the annual tribal ceremony this method is preserved yet. Two persons are ordinarily required in producing fire, one to do the striking, the other to hold the bed of fire material into which the spark is projected when obtained. A single individual might succeed very well, but two together obtain fire much more quickly. Even then the operation often takes fifteen minutes or more. It is likely, however, that

the manipulators were already out of practice when the method passed out of common use. It is nowadays admitted that the town chief who strikes the spark at the annual ceremony is greatly worried at this time over the ultimate result of his efforts. It takes him about twenty minutes to secure a flame.

The method, as observed on several ceremonial occasions, is as follows: the flint, *yät$^{\varepsilon}$ä dawoné*, is held between the thumb and forefinger of the right hand with a small piece of punk material, *tciñg$^{\varepsilon}$ō'*, alongside of it. This punk appears to be a very close-pored fungus. In his left hand he holds the striker. The helper stands by, holding a curved tray of hickory bark heaped up with decayed wood, *sämbī'*, which has been dried and reduced to powder (Fig. 24). The chief operator then strikes the two stones together,

Fig. 24. Tinder Tray.

and when several good sparks have been seen to fly, a moment is given to watching for evidence that one has been kept alive in the punk. If the spark smoulders in this it is gently transferred to the tinder in the bark tray. From this moment the responsibility rests with the helper. He begins to sway the tinder very gradually from side to side and gauges his movements by the thin wisp of smoke that arises from the smouldering bed. After a few minutes, if things go well, the smoke increases and the helper becomes more energetic. The climax is reached when from the dried wood tinder-bed a little flame springs up. Small twigs are piled on and then larger ones until the blazing mass can be safely deposited beneath a pile of firewood. Nowadays at any rate, the fire-producing materials, flint and punk, are a part of the town chief's sacred paraphernalia and he has the prerogative of manipulating them. A piece of steel is more often used as a sparker in the modern operation, as it is more effective.

The most convenient fireplace arrangement is to have a large, not too dry backlog with the fire maintained along one side according to the number of pots to be heated. When the backlog burns away in one place the fire is moved to another, or the log itself is pushed along.

As to the origin of fire we find here the common American explanation. It is believed to have been stolen, by the mythical trickster Rabbit, from a people across the waters and brought by him to the Yuchi.

Foods.—Foodstuffs in which corn or maize is the principal ingredient should be mentioned first in this connection. In its various forms corn has always been the staple article of diet in the region inhabited by these Indians, while at certain times of the year game, fish and fruits have supplemented the daily menu. Pumpkins, potatoes, beans, melons and squashes rank next in the list of cultivated plant foods. The variety of corn best known seems to have been what is commonly called flint corn

The simplest way of preparing corn for use is to boil it or roast it in the ear and eat it directly from the cob. There is, however, only a certain time of the year in which this can be done and that is when the crop has matured, after the supernatural powers had been propitiated and the bodies of the people purified by ceremonies to be treated later under the subject of religion. One of the chief articles of diet is *tsō'ci*, a kind of corn soup.[1] To make this the grains of corn, when dry, are removed from the cob and pounded in the mortar until they are broken up. These grits and the corn powder are then scooped out of the mortar and boiled in a pot with water. Wood ashes from the fire are usually added to it to give a peculiar flavor much to the native taste. Even powdered hickory nuts, or marrow, or meat may be boiled with the soup to vary its taste. It is commonly believed, as regards the origin of this favorite dish, that a woman in the mythical ages cut a rent in the sky through which a peculiar liquid flowed which was found to be good to eat. The Sun then explained its preparation and use, from which fact it was called *tsō'ci*, inferably 'sun fluid.'

A kind of corn flour, *tsukhá*, is made by pounding up dried corn in the mortar. At intervals the contents of the mortar are scooped up and emptied into the sieve basket. The operator holds a large basket tray in her lap and over it shakes and sifts the pounded corn until all the grits and the finer particles have fallen through. According to the desired fineness or coarseness of the flour she then jounces this tray until she has the meal as she wants it, all the chaff having blown away. The meal, being then ready to be mixed into dough, is stirred up with water in one of the pottery vessels. In the meantime a large clean flat stone has been tilted slantwise before the embers of a fire. When the dough is right it is poured out onto this stone and allowed to bake. These meal cakes constitute the native bread, *kánlo*. Berries are thought to improve the flavor and are often mixed in with the dough. Besides corn the Yuchi preserve the knowledge of a variety of foods some of which are still commonly used. Hickory nuts, *yᴀ'*, were commonly stored away for use in the following manner. They were pounded and then

[1] The common name for this corn soup is *sofki*, the Creek term, which has come now to be widely used for the dish among both Indians and whites.

boiled in water until a milk-like fluid was obtained. This after being strained was used as a beverage or as a cooking ingredient.

Almost any bird, animal or fish that was large enough to bother with was used as food. The names and varieties of such have been already given. The flesh of game mammals, birds, *kāndī'*, and fish, *cū*, was roasted or broiled on a framework of green sticks resting on cross pieces which were supported on forked uprights over the fire. The device was simply a stationary broiling frame. When large hauls of fish were made, by using vegetable poison in streams in the manner described, or more game was taken than was needed for immediate use, it is said that the surplus flesh was artificially dried over a slow smoky fire or in the sun, so that it could be laid away against the future. Crawfish, *tcatsá*, were very much liked and quantities of them were also treated for preservation in the above manner.

Wild fruits and nuts in their proper seasons added variety to the comparatively well supplied larder of the natives. Berries, *yābā'*, were gathered and dried to be mixed with flour or eaten alone. Wild grapes, *cā*, were abundant. The Indians are said to have preserved them for use out of season by drying them on frames over a bed of embers until they were like raisins, in condition to be stored away in baskets.

Salt, *dábī*, was used with food except during the annual tribal ceremony and for a short time before it, when it was tabooed in the same sense as corn or intercourse with women. It was obtained from river banks in certain places, but, on the whole, was rather a rare article with the Yuchi.

Meals were seldom eaten at regular times. Since food of some sort was nearly always over the fire or ready to eat, the different members of the family, or even outsiders, partook of what they wanted whenever they felt inclined. At least once a day, however, one good meal would usually be prepared for all.

The food supply of the Indians of the fertile Southeast, regulated by their forethought in preserving grain and flesh, seems to have been on the whole, fairly constant and abundant. Accordingly we do not expect to find them making use of matter that is not acceptable to the average human taste, such, for instance, as insects, larvæ, and small reptiles. They did, however, and do today, find the raw entrails of the larger mammals and their contents to be much to their liking, esteeming the substance a delicacy.

A more extensive list of special vegetable foods could hardly be gotten from the Yuchi today as they are out of their original habitat, and have discontinued the use of wild plants for some time.

In connection with animal foods it should be remembered that there were numerous clans having particular animals for their totems, and that there existed for each clan the taboo of killing or eating the particular animal which bore the form of its totem.

Dress and Ornament.

For a people living in quite a warm climate the Yuchi, as far back as they have any definite knowledge, seem to have gone about rather profusely clothed, but the descriptions obtained refer only to a time when the white traders' materials had replaced almost entirely the native products.

A bright colored calico shirt was worn by the men next to the skin. Over this was a sleeved jacket reaching, on young men, a little below the waist, on old men and chiefs, below the knees. The shirt hung free before and behind, but was bound around the waist by a belt or woolen sash. The older men who wore the long coat-like garment had another sash with tassels dangling at the sides outside of this. These two garments, it should be remembered, were nearly always of calico or cotton goods, while it sometimes happened that the long coat was of deerskin. Loin coverings were of two kinds; either a simple apron was suspended from a girdle next the skin before and behind, or a long narrow strip of stroud passed between the legs and was tucked underneath the girdle in front and in back, where the ends were allowed to fall as flaps. Leggings of stroud or deerskin reaching from ankle to hip were supported by thongs to the belt and bound to the leg by tasselled and beaded garter bands below the knee. Deerskin moccasins covered the feet. Turbans of cloth, often held in place by a metal head band in which feathers were set for ornament, covered the head. The man's outfit was then complete when he had donned his bead-decorated side pouch, in which he kept pipe, tobacco and other personal necessities, with its broad highly embroidered bandolier. The other ornaments were metal breast pendants, earrings, finger rings, bracelets and armlets, beadwork neckbands and beadwork strips which were fastened in the hair. The women wore calico dresses often ornamented on the breast, shoulders, and about the lower part of the skirt with metal brooches. Necklaces of large round beads, metal earrings and bracelets were added for ornament, and upon festive or ceremonial occasions a large, curved, highly ornate metal comb surmounted the crown of the head. From this varicolored ribbons dangled to the ground, trailing out horizontally as the wearer moved about. The woman's wardrobe also included an outside belt, decorated with bead embroidery, short leggings, and moccasins at times.

The above articles of clothing, as can quite readily be seen, are largely of modern form if not of comparatively modern origin. However, owing to the fact that no period is remembered by the Yuchi going back of the time when these things were in use, we are left to our own resources in trying to determine which of them were native and which of them were borrowed from outsiders.

If we are warranted in judging by the material used and by the form of decoration which is given them, it would seem that among the garments described, leggings, breechcloths, moccasins and perhaps shirts and turbans at

least were of native type. The same, furthermore, might be said of some forms of the metal ornaments, ornamented necklaces, hair ornaments, sashes and knee bands. So far as is now known, the decorative art of the Yuchi is almost exclusively confined to the latter articles, and it may be that the antiquity of the decorative designs is paralleled by that of the objects which carry them. Reference is made in myths to the turban, woman's skirt, man's sash and carrying pouch with its broad bandolier in connection with one of the supernatural beings, Wind. The peculiar form of these articles as worn by him then gave the motive for the conventional decorations which are still put on such articles by the Yuchi. This, however, is to be dealt with more fully under the next heading.

The bright colored calico shirt worn next to the skin was called *gōci bilané*, 'what goes around the back;' and was provided with buttons and often a frill around the collar and at the wrists. The outer garment, *gōci stalé*, 'over the back,' of calico also, was more characteristic. This had short sleeves with frilled cuff bands which came just above the frills of the under shirt, thereby adding to the frilled effect. A large turn-down collar bordered with a frill which ran all around the lapels down the front and about the hem, added further to this picturesque effect, and a great variety of coloring is exhibited in the specimens which I have seen. The long skirted coat, *gocī stale^{ɛ}ä'*, worn by the old men, chiefs and town officials, was usually white with, however, just as many frills. An old specimen of Cherokee coat is shown in Pl. V, 1, which shows very well the sort of coat commonly worn by the men of other southeastern tribes as well as the Yuchi. The material used is tanned buckskin with sewed-on fringe corresponding to the calico frills in more modern specimens. It is said that as the men became older and more venerable, they lengthened the skirts of their coats. A sash commonly held these coats in at the waist.

The breechcloth, *gontsoné^{n}* (Pl. V, Fig. 2), was a piece of stroud with decorated border, which was drawn between the legs and under the girdle before and behind. The flaps, long or short as they might be, are said to have been decorated with bead embroidery, but none of the specimens preserved show it.

Leggings, *to^{ɛ}o'*, were originally of deerskin with the seam down the outside of the leg arranged so as to leave a flap three or four inches wide along the entire length. The stuff was usually stained in some uniform color. In the latter days, however, strouding, or some other heavy substance such as broadcloth, took the place of deerskin, and the favorite colors for this were black, red and blue. The outside edge of the broad flap invariably bore some decoration, in following out which we find quite uniformly one main idea. By means of ribbons of several colors sewed on the flap a series of long parallel lines in red, yellow, blue and green are brought out. The theme is said to represent sun-

rise or sunset and is one of the traditional decorations for legging flaps. A typical specimen is shown in Plate V, 3. The legging itself reaches from the instep to the hip on the outer side where a string or thong is attached with which to fasten it to the belt for support.

The moccasin, *det^{s}ā'*, still in use (Pl. V, 4, and Fig. 25), is made of soft smoked deerskin. It is constructed of one piece of skin. One seam runs straight up the heel. The front seam begins where the toes touch the ground and runs along the instep. At the ankle this seam ends, the uppers hanging loose. The instep seam is sometimes covered with some fancy cloth. Deerskin thongs are fastened at the instep near the bend of the ankle with which to bind the moccasin fast. The thongs are wound just above the ankle and tied in front. Sometimes a length of thong is passed once around the middle of the foot, crossing the sole underneath, then wound once around the ankle and tied in front. This extra binding going beneath the sole is employed generally by those whose feet are large, otherwise the shoe hangs too loose. The Osages, now just north of the Yuchi, employ this method of binding the moccasins quite generally, but the moccasin pattern is quite different. The idea, however, may be a b o r r o w e d one. Yuchi moccasins have no trailers or instep flaps or lapels, the whole article being extremely plain. It seems that decoration other than the applications of red paint is quite generally lacking.

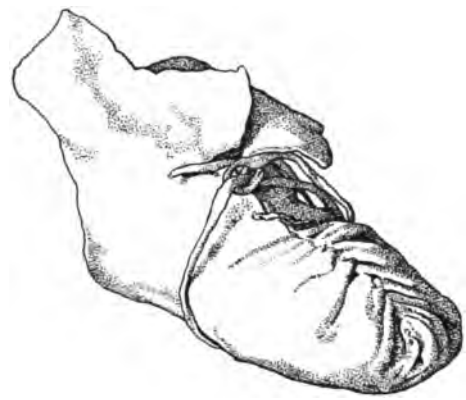


Fig. 25. Man's Moccasin.

The turban, *to cīné*, seems to have been a characteristic piece of head gear in the Southeast. The historic turban of the Yuchi was a long strip of calico or even heavier goods which was simply wound round and round the head and had the end tucked in under one of the folds to hold it. The turban cloth was of one color, or it could have some pattern according to personal fancy. Plumes or feathers were in the same way stuck in its folds for the artistic effect. That some head covering similar to the turban was known in Precolumbian times seems probable inasmuch as a myth mentions that Rabbit, when he stole the ember of fire from its keepers, hid it in the folds of his head dress.

The sashes, *gágódī kwené*, 'the two suspended from the body' (Pl. V, 5, 6, Pl. VI, 7, 8), worn by men, are made of woolen yarn. The simplest of these consists merely of a bunch of strands twisted together and wrapped at the ends. A loose knot holds the sash about the waist. But the characteristic sash of the southeastern tribes, and one much in favor with the Yuchi, is

more complex in its makeup, and quite attractive in effect, the specimens I have seen being for the most part knitted. The sashes of the Yuchi seem to be uniformly woven with yarn of a dark red color. Some specimens, however, show an intermixture of blue or yellow, or both. The main feature is a dark red ground for the white beads which are strung on the weft. Figures of triangles and lozenges or zigzags are attractively produced by the white beaded outlines and the conventional design produced is called 'bull snake.' The sash is tied about the waist so that the fixed tassels fall from one hip and the tassels at the knotted end depend from the other. Customarily the tassels reach to the knee. The sash is a mark of distinction, to a certain extent, as it was only worn in former times by full-grown men. Nowadays, however, it is worn in ball games and upon ceremonial occasions by the participants in general, though only as regalia.

The woven garters, *tsē tsA^{n}'* (Pl. VI, 3), or *godē' kwené*, 'leg suspender,' should be described with the sash, as their manner of construction and their conventional decoration is the same. The garters or knee bands are several inches in width. They are commonly knitted, while the tassels are of plaited or corded lengths of yarn with tufts at the ends. Here the general form and colors of the decorative scheme are the same as those of the sash. The function of the knee band seems to be, if anything, to gather up and hold the slack of the legging so as to relieve some of the weight on the thong that fastens it to the belt. The tasseled ends fall half way down the lower leg.

Rather large pouches, *łātī'*, two of which are ordinarily owned by each man as side receptacles, are made of leather, or goods obtained from the whites, and slung over the shoulder on a broad strap of the same material. It has already been said that various articles were thus carried about on the person: tobacco and pipe, tinder and flint, medicinal roots, fetishes and undoubtedly a miscellaneous lot of other things. The shoulder strap is customarily decorated with the bull snake design by attaching beads, or if the strap be woven, by weaving them in. There seems to be a variety in the bead decorations on the body of the pouch. Realistic portrayals of animals, stars, crescents and other objects have been observed, but the realistic figure of the turtle is nearly always present either alone or with the others. The turtle here is used conventionally in the same way that the bull snake is used as the decorative theme on sashes and shoulder strap, that is, in imitation of the mythical being Wind who went forth with a turtle for his side pouch. In Pl. IX. Fig. 5, one of the chief ornamental designs is reproduced.

The next ornamental pieces to be described are the neckbands, *tsūtso^{n} ła'*, 'bead band' (Pl. VI, 5, 6), worn by men. These are usually an inch in width and consist of beads strung on woof of horse hair; each bead being placed between two of the warps. Beadwork of this sort is widely used by the

neighboring Sauk and Fox and Osage and it may be that we are dealing here with a borrowed idea. Not only the idea of the neckband, but also many of the decorative motives brought out on it, may possibly be traceable to Sauk and Fox or other foreign sources. The religious interests of the Yuchi are largely concerned with supernatural beings residing in the sky and clouds, so we find many of the conventional designs on these neckbands interpreted as clouds, sun, sunrise and sunset effects, and so on. Animal representations, however, are sparingly found, while on the other hand representations of rivers, mountains, land, and earth, are quite frequent. On the whole it seems that most of the expression of the art of these Indians is to be found on their neckbands and the hair ornaments. In thus bearing the burden of conventional artistic expression in a tribe, the neckband of the Yuchi is something like the moccasin of the Plains, the pottery of the Southwest and the basketry of California.

Fastened in the hair near the crown and falling toward the back, the men used to wear small strips of beadwork, *tsū'tsetsī'*, 'little bead' (Pl. VI, 4), avowedly for ornament. They were woven like the neckband on horse hair or sinew with different colored beads. One which I collected is about eight inches long and one half an inch wide, having three-fold dangling ends ornamented with yarn. The designs on these ornaments are representative of topographical and celestial features.

A woman's belt, *wänté gahò'ndē kwené*, 'goes around woman's waist', is shown (Pl. VI, 1). The belts were of leather or trade cloth and had bead embroidery decorations representing in general the same range of objects as the neckbands and hair ornaments. Such belts were usually about two

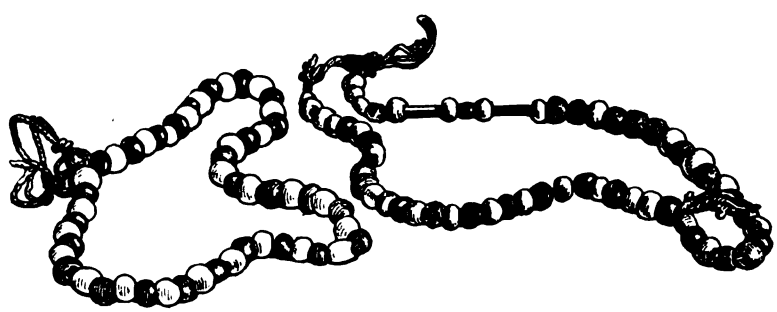


Fig. 26. Women's Necklaces.

inches wide. Women's dresses, *no^{n}g^{e}ā'*, will not be described, as they present nothing characteristic or original. Most women are found with strings of large round blue beads about their necks (Fig. 26). It is stated that necklaces of this sort have something to do with the fertility of women.

The ornaments which were made of silver alloy beaten and punched in the cold state are exceedingly numerous and varied. The use of such objects has been very general among the Indians and a general borrowing and interchanging of pattern and shape seems to have gone on for some time during the historic period. No particularly characteristic forms are found among the Yuchi except perhaps in the breast pendants, which are generally crescent shaped, and the men's head bands and the women's ornamental combs. Some of these objects deserve description.

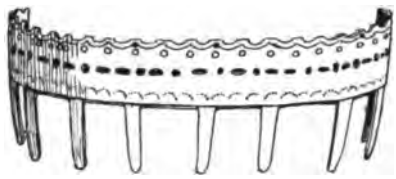


Fig. 27. Ornamental Comb.

Fig. 27 shows one of the combs. The narrow band of metal is decorated with punched-in circles, ovals and toothed curves. The teeth are cut out of another strip of metal which is riveted on. The upper edge of the comb is scalloped. Women's bracelets are shown in Fig. 28, with similar ornamentation

Fig. 28. Bracelets.

on the body, and grooves near the edges to render its shape firm. The rings, *gōmpadī'né*, and earrings (Fig. 29) need no description. Hardly any two are alike.

We have evidence in the myths that robes, *antcwá*, or hides of animals,

Fig. 29. Finger Rings.

as the name implies, were worn by the men over their shoulders. The case referred to mentions bear and wildcat skins used in this manner and it is also to be inferred that two different branches of the tribe were characterized by the wearing of bear and wildcat skins robes.

The men furthermore affect the fan, *wetcá*, 'turkey' (Pl. VII, 9), of wild turkey tail feathers. The proper possession of this, however, is with the older men and chiefs who spend much of their time in leisure. They handle the fan very gracefully in emphasizing their gestures and in keeping insects away. During ceremonies to carry the fan is a sign of leadership. It is passed to a dancer as an invitation to lead the next dance. He, when he has completed his duty, returns it to the master of ceremonies who then bestows it upon someone else. The construction of the fan is very simple, the quills being merely strung together upon a string in several places near the base (Fig. 30).

The Yuchi men as a rule allow the hair to grow long all over the head until it reaches the neck. It is then cropped off even all around and worn parted in the middle. The portrait of the old man (Pl. I) shows this fairly well. Something is usually bound about the forehead to keep the hair back from the face; either a turban, silver head band or strip of some kind. The beadwork hair ornaments used to be tied to a few locks back of the crown. Some of the older men state that a long time ago the men wore scalp locks and

Fig. 30. Feather Attachment of Fan.

roached their hair, removing all but the comb of hair along the top of the crown, in the manner still practiced by the Osage. Men of taste invariably keep the mustache, beard and sometimes the eyebrows from growing by pulling them out with their finger nails. The hair was formerly trimmed by means of two stones. The tresses to be cut were laid across a flat stone and were then sawed off, by means of a sharp-edged stone, to the desired length.

The women simply part their hair in the middle, gathering it back tightly above the ears and twisting it into a knot or club at the back of the neck. The silver combs, already described, are placed at the back near the top of the head.

Face painting, as we shall see, is practiced by both men and women for certain definite purposes. There are four or five patterns for men and they indicate which of two societies, namely the Chief or the Warrior society, the wearer belongs to. These patterns are shown in Pl. X, and will be described in more detail later on. Although the privilege of wearing certain of these patterns is inherited from the father, young men are not, as a rule, entitled to use them until they have been initiated into the town and can take a wife.

Face painting is an important ceremonial decoration and is scrupulously worn at ceremonies, public occasions and ball games. A man is also decorated with his society design for burial.

The only use ever made of paint in the case of women seems to have been to advertise the fact that they were unmarried. Women of various ages are now, however, observed with paint, and it is generally stated that no significance is attached to it. One informant gave the above information in regard to the past use of paint among women and thought that to wear it was regarded then as a sign of willingness to grant sexual privileges. The woman's pattern consists simply of a circular spot in red, about one inch across, on each cheek (Pl. X, Fig. 4). A few other objects of personal ornament which are, however, functionally more ceremonial will be described when dealing specifically with the ceremonies.

DECORATIVE ART AND SYMBOLISM.

Something has already been said about decorative designs in the description of clothing, but the designs themselves and the general subject of art deserve a little attention. As regards the artistic expression of this tribe it seems that, in general, special conventional decorations symbolizing concrete objects are confined to a few articles of clothing such as neckbands, sashes, hair ornaments, leggings and carrying-pouches. The whole field is permeated with a strong religious significance. Decorations of a like sort with a still more emphatic religious meaning are found on pottery, though rarely, as well as on other objects. Besides this we find occasional attempts, on the part of the men, to make realistic pictures of familiar objects by means of pigments on paper, bark or skin, not to mention the fashioning of a few crude representations in plastic material. Considering, however, the part that conventional decoration plays in the present case, it seems to outweigh the importance of pictorial art. It must be admitted, though, that this supposition is founded entirely on the consideration of modern material, and, as there appears to be no way of going back of this for an insight into earlier stages, the only course is to treat it as a native feature. A suspicion regarding the foreign origin of Yuchi ornamentation has already been mentioned. We must also reckon with considerable deterioration resulting from contact with the whites.

Lacking, then, the ability to deal with Yuchi art in its definitely pure state we shall undertake the consideration of some decorative designs on clothing as representing the most specialized and characteristic surviving forms. Some of these are simple conventional geometrical patterns which are used with variation by different individuals and often regarded as religious symbols. For instance, we find the conventional bull snake pattern on sashes, garters, neckbands and shoulder straps, with a religious significance attached to it. Inasmuch as the Wind on one of his excursions made use of bull snakes for his sash, garters and shoulder strap and was highly successful in his undertaking, the emulation of this great being is sought after by human beings when they decorate their sashes, garters and shoulder straps with the symbolic bull snake design.[1] The same emulative motives are to be found in the frog

[1]The likelihood that the snake design was predominant in the decoration of shoulder straps and sashes of most of the southeastern tribes is to be inferred from the frequency with which this design, to the exclusion of others, appears in the portraits of Creeks, Seminole and Cherokee published by McKenney and Hall (History of the Indian Tribes of North America, 3 vols., 1848–50).

effigy pipes and in the turtle design which is common on the side pouches (Pl. IX. Fig. 5).

Other patterns lack, so far as is known, any religious associations, being merely conventional decorative representations of familiar natural objects. In this category we find patterns of mountains, clouds, rivers, the moon, sun, milky way, and rainbow, while representations of such living forms as the centipede and the bull snake are also met with. The greatest variety of patterns showing minor differences and bearing the same interpretation seem to be those representing sky and cloud effects. The religious interest of the Yuchi in the upper world of the sky may have influenced them in their taste for celestial symbols. In this connection it should be remembered that they regard themselves as the offspring of the sun and point to that orb as the tribal sign in gesture talk. It was remarked by one of the men who supplied the specimens illustrated here, that some years ago when the Yuchi were more given to roving about the plains for game they were distinguished among the Osage, Sauk, Pawnee and other tribes encountered, by the predominance of cloud, sky, sun and moon designs shown in their beadwork neckbands. In fact, the decorative motives seem to be of a more or less fixed tribal nature. No symbols for abstract ideas, as for example those of the Arapaho for thought and good luck, have been found.

In depicting objects and in conventional patterns naturally the outlines give the chief character to the figure, though colors have their conventional uses. Blue represents sky or water, dark blue, the sky at night, and white or yellow, light or illumination. Green represents vegetation. Brown, earth or sand, and red, earth and fire. As among many tribes of North America, colors are furthermore associated with the cardinal points by the Yuchi.

kōda^{n}ʃá, north; *hitsA^{w}*, green or blue.
faka^{n}ʃá, east; *yaká*, white.
wā' fa, south; *tcałá*, red.
fa^{n}ʃá, west; *ispī'*, black.

Of these, two carry the symbolism further. The east and its whiteness signify the propitious, the west and black stand for the unpropitious, while red is symbolical of war and turbulence. These concepts, at least the black west and the white east, are undoubtedly connected with day and night.

In different accounts the colors going with the cardinal points vary somewhat. It appears that no fixed symbolism is maintained but that the idea of color in connection with the points is general but variable. The same tendency seems to be found in other tribes, which would explain the conflicts which are often recorded.

The illustrations given here were mostly made from specimens secured from the Indians and the interpretations are those offered by their makers. In

some cases, however, patterns were remembered by Indians but no actual specimens showing them could be obtained. Pigment representations in color were then made by the Indians of a few designs which were familiar to them but out of use, and the interpretations were secured at the same time as the sketches. Other designs were copied from specimens which could not be obtained. Pl. VIII, Fig. 8 is a general pattern representing the bull snake, *canká*, on earth or sand. It was done in pigment and said to be intended for use on shoulder straps of pouches, garters or sashes. Fig. 7 also shows a pattern of the bull snake design for similar use; the body material here is supposed to be of some white cloth and the red, yellow and blue outlines are to be produced by sewing the beads on or weaving them singly in the fabric. Fig. 6 is an actual design taken from a pair of woven garters. The white beads are woven in the fabric and the whole also symbolizes the bull snake. Fig. 2 is a pattern representing the centipede, *totce^{n}gäné*. It was done in pigments and is intended for use on beadwork neckbands. Figs. 3 and 4 are both from specimens of beadwork neckbands and show three-color conventionalizations of the centipede. Fig. 5 represents the same with the difference that the legs are shown in the outside marginal row. Fig. 1 and Pl. IX Fig. 4, show mountain designs seen on breechcloth flaps, blankets, and belts, and used also on neckbands. This is called *s^{ɛ}ä'yaboha pē'^{ɛ}e^{n}*, 'many crooked mountains.' Pl. VIII. Fig. 9, is a pattern, *tsē^{ɛ}ä'*, river, taken from a neckband representing a river, in blue, flowing through arid country, indicated by the brown ground color. Fig. 15 is another neckband design showing the same idea with a little variation in color. Fig. 14 is a hair ornament representing likewise a river flowing through a fertile prairie land. In Fig. 13 is a pigment pattern for belt, shoulder strap or neckband. It represents an otter, according to its well-known habit, sliding down the bank of a stream into the water which is represented by the blue area. The red portion shows the muddy bank. Fig. 12 is taken from a beadwork neckband and shows the milky way, *tsené yūctā^{n}'*, 'dog's trail,' in white, as seen on a starlight night. The dark blue represents the sky at night and the white beads in it are stars. Fig. 11 shows the design on a woman's belt done in beads and cloth appliquée. The whole represents the breaking up of storm clouds, showing glimpses of the blue sky in between the cloud banks. Fig. 16 is from a beadwork necklace and represents a bright sky with various kinds of cumulus clouds which are shown in the different shaped rectangles. Fig. 10 is another neckband design representing the rainbow, *yū^{ɛ}ä'* or *wet^{ɛ}ä'*. Fig. 17, taken from a neckband, is similar in content to Fig. 16, showing cumulus clouds.[1] The right angle ⌊ represents the moon. Figs. 18 and 19 are neckband and hair ornament designs representing different sunrise or sunset effects, *tson$_{A}^{n}$'*.

[1] One informant gave the additional name of "boxes" to the rectangles.

Fig. 20 is a variation of the idea represented in Fig. 17, showing also the moon symbol. This was taken from a beadwork neckband. Fig. 21, also a neckband idea, is uniform red representing the glow of sunset in the sky, and is called *hopo"lé tcałála*, 'sky red all over.' Figs. 22 and 23 are beadwork design elements also representing sunrise or sunset amid clouds.

The most characteristic and important example of religious symbolism is to be found in the public area or town square of Yuchi town where the ceremonies are performed and tribal gatherings take place. Although this will be described and figured further on under another heading (see Pl.XI), it deserves mention here. The town square itself, with its three lodges on the north, south and west, symbolized the rainbow. The natural coloring of the brown earth floor of the square, the green brush roofs of the lodges, the gray ashes of the fire in the center and the red of the flames formed altogether an enormous ashes, earth and vegetation painting, if such an expression might be used, which was the tribal shrine. The colors of this town square altar corresponded to those of the rainbow. The ceremonial event which took place annually on this shrine furthermore symbolized the various actions of the chief supernatural being and culture hero Sun who taught the people the ceremony as it was performed by the inhabitants of the sky in the rainbow during the mythical period. Like the symbolism of many primitive peoples in America that of the Yuchi was closely connected with religious life.

It is observable that most of the geometrical figures used here as design elements, such as rectangles, triangles and zigzag lines, are commonly found in a similar capacity in other regions with, however, different and arbitrary symbolisms and interpretations in different localities. This seems to be in accord with what Dr. Boas has shown for parts of North America, that certain figures have become disseminated through wide areas and have received secondary, oftentimes symbolical, interpretations when adopted by different tribes according to their particular interests. Below, in Fig. 31, is given a summary of Yuchi conventional figures from the material at hand to facilitate the comparison of American motives and their interpretations. The significance of the various colors has already been given. To conclude this very brief account of art and symbolism a few examples of pictorial representations are given. These drawings in color were brought in by Indians to further explain various features of ethnology while investigation was being carried on. No claim is made regarding their spontaneity or native originality. In Plate IX, Fig. 10 represents a buffalo fish which has been shot with an arrow, Fig. 9 shows a cow's head with an arrow crosswise in its mouth. The picture of a mortar, pestle and two pot stirrers (Fig. 11) was drawn to show the miniature domestic utensils which are hidden away with the navel cord of a female child to influence its future. Fig. 6 represents a war club of an ancient type no longer seen, with a string of feathers. Fig. 7

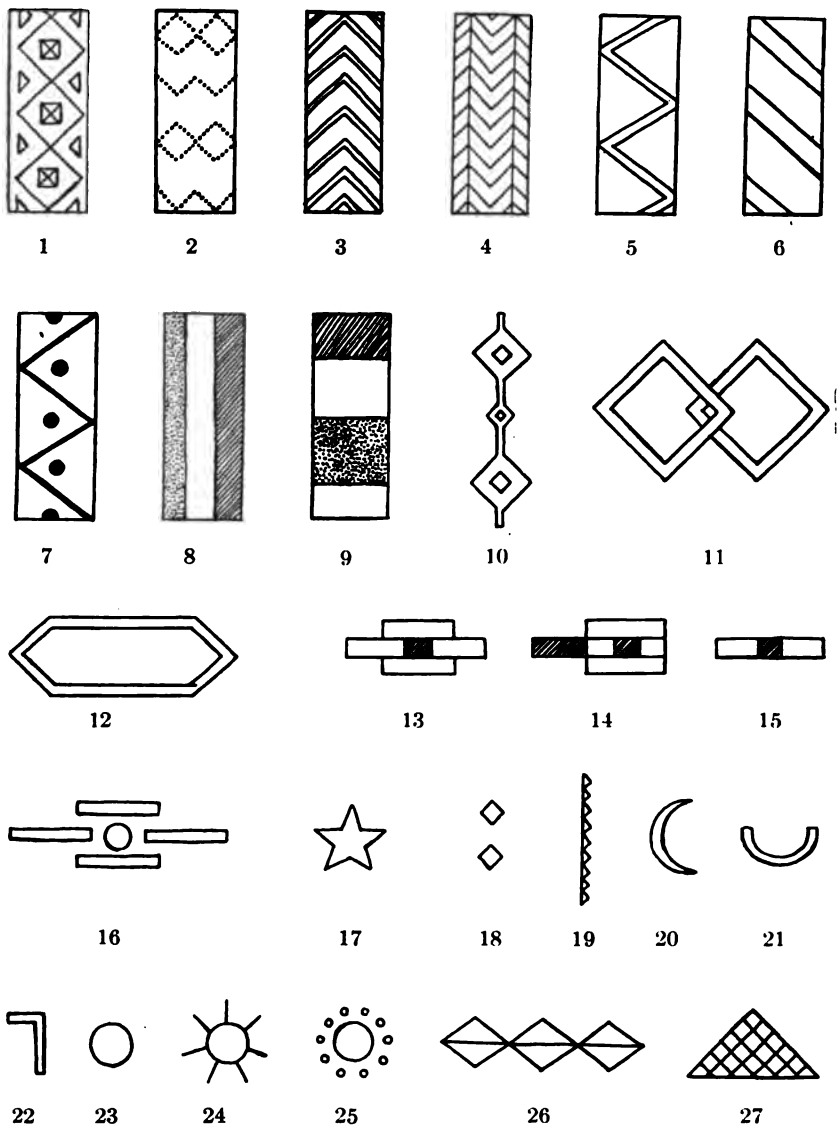


Fig. 31.

1, 2 Snake.
3, 4 Centipede.
5, 6 River.
7 Rainbow.
8, 9 Morning or Evening Sky.
10 Milky Way.
11-15 Clouds.
16 Sunset or Sunrise.
17-19 Stars.
20-22 Moon or Sun.
23-25 Sun.
26, 27 Mountains.

is the sun and moon or moon and star symbol, which was placed over the entrance of the Yuchi house as a tribal mark symbolizing the kinship of the people to the sun. Fig. 8 is a design taken from a drum head. It represents the color symbolism of the cardinal points, lacking, however, the black for west. The Yuchi seem to perceive no intrinsic difference between approximate shades of green and blue. When these colors are placed side by side, however, they note an existing difference when attention is called to it. The language has one word for the two colors, *hitsᴀⁿ'*. Shades and tones of other colors are seldom distinguished. Even the extremes do not call forth particular mention unless they border on each other. Thus indigo might be called black. Yellow and green, however, are clearly distinguished apart and are covered by particular words, *dī* yellow, *hitsᴀⁿ'* green or blue. Aesthetically green or blue and yellow were claimed as the favorite colors by the majority of those who were questioned about the matter. It may also be noted here that designs representing cloud effects and celestial phenomena are held in the greatest fondness by the Yuchi, in which preference they may have been influenced by religious associations. The favorite patterns are commonly called by such names as *eⁿgedjinéⁿ*, 'dressed up,' and *gatsē'pongané*, 'pretty.'

Several more complex pictures are reproduced on Plate IX, which may be of native origin. They were made by a chief of his own accord on paper to illustrate several things that were mentioned in the myths. They are comparable to some of the pictures made by the plains tribes for similar purposes. Fig. 3 depicts the milky way, *tsené yuctäⁿ'*, 'dog's trail,' at night and the clear sky studded with stars. This is to explain the belief that the milky way is the trail of White Dog, a supernatural being, who travels over it every night. The ramification to the right, which is rather difficult to distinguish in the milky way, is supposed to be a blind trail leading toward the earth. The White Dog frequently blunders and takes the blind trail, getting quite near to the earth before he discovers his mistake. The Indian dogs are quick to perceive this and thereupon set up a howl which they keep up until White Dog has passed on. Thus the weird howling at night of the Indian dogs is accounted for. Fig. 2 shows the rainbow, *yūᴱā'*, 'big house (?),' the trail over which the soul travels toward the spirit land. The brown area represents earth with a mountain in darker shade; the blue is water in the background, with sky in green above all. In Fig. 1 is a river, land, a mountain range and sky in their respective conventional colors. In the foreground are trees, and a raccoon which has been fishing and is now bound for the tree on the left where he has his hole. Fig. 5 is given to show a design used on the side pouches and shoulder straps which support them. The upper figure is a turtle, *tābᴱā'*. The turtle and snake designs on these pouches have already been described so it is not necessary to explain their significance again. The other figures on the lower part of the

pouch are a hand and a tomahawk. I could not find out what idea they are intended to convey, or what their reason was for being here. The aesthetic and symbolic forms exhibited in pipes (Fig. 11) and clay figures (Fig.12) have been described before and hardly need to be more than mentioned.

MUSIC.

Singing at ceremonies and dances was accompanied by drums and rattles of two kinds.

The large drum was made of hide stretched over a log sometimes three feet high and was used to call the townspeople together, and to accompany dancing. This in later times was replaced by a smaller type of drum, the pot-drum, *dĭdané* (Fig. 32) now used at ceremonies. It was made by stretching a piece of hide over an earthen pot standing about 18 inches high, containing water. An ordinary stick was used with it as a drum stick. The hide covering was decorated usually with a painted wheel-like design, suggesting a correspondence with the cardinal symbolism (See Fig. 8, Plate IX). The black for west seems to be lacking and yellow is substituted for white in this specimen. The drum had its special resting place in front of the chief's lodge in the town square and the privilege of beating it was vested in a certain individual.

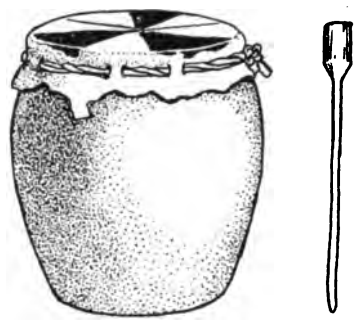
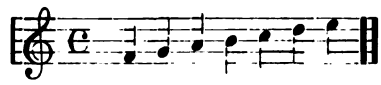


Fig. 32. Pot Drum.

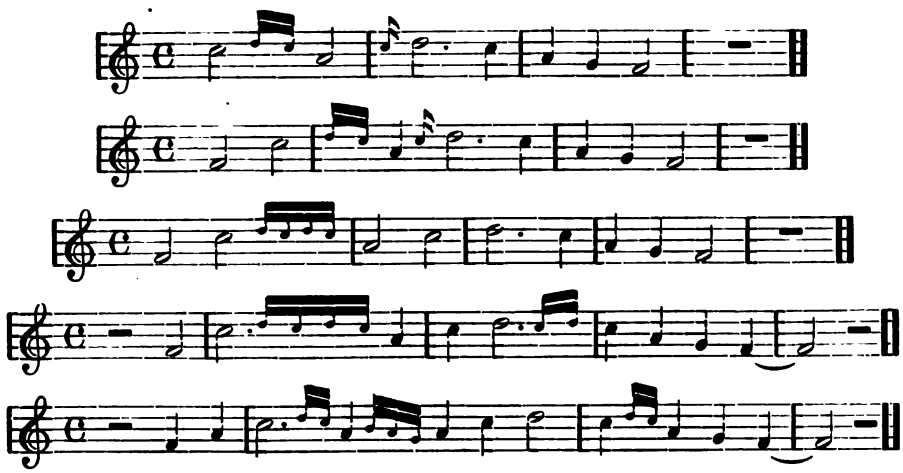
The hand rattle, *tā"bäné* (Pl. VII, Figs. 3, 4), was formerly a gourd, but nowadays is a cocoanut shell scraped thin and filled with small white pebbles a stick being run through the nut to serve as a handle. Small circular orifices are made in the shell to let the sound out. The gourd rattle was held at right angle to the forearm in the right hand. Sun symbols (Figure 31, Nos. 23, 25), often are carved or etched around the perforations on the shell.

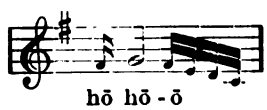
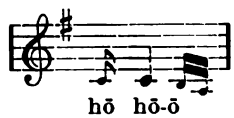
A characteristic and peculiar instrument is the *tsontā'* (Pl. VII, Figs. 10, 11) the rattles worn only by women in the dances. They are composed of six to ten terrapin shells containing small white pebbles, attached to sheets of hide. Each shell has a number of holes in it and is comparable in function to the single hand rattle. One such bunch of rattles is bound to each leg below the knee. A shuffling up and down step produces a very resonant sound from this instrument. Two women usually carry them and

may enter most of the dances when they have been well started. The *tsontā'* is said to be chiefly destined for the Turtle Dance, but was observed in use in others.

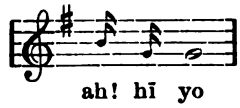
All of the above instruments were functionally ceremonial. There is another, however, which is strictly informal in its use. This is the flute or perhaps more properly the flageolet, *łokᴀ''*, (Pl. VII, Fig. 2). It is made of cedar wood, being about two feet long and one inch in diameter. A stick of the proper thickness is split down the center and the sections gouged out until about one-eighth of an inch thick. The concave sections are then placed together in their original position and bound in five or six places with buckskin or cord. The mouthpiece is formed by simply tapering off the end abruptly. The red cedar wood used is sacred. There are six hole stops on the upper side of the lower half of the instrument. A flat piece of lead is bound with its edge at the air vent which is about four inches from the mouthpiece. The air channel to the lead is formed by the raised interior and is covered by a peculiar block of wood which is gummed and bound on. The following seven tones are produced. The pitch is about one-half a tone higher than that of the medium absolute scale.

This type of flute is one that is found widely distributed over the continent. Here as elsewhere it is employed by men as an important aid in influencing the emotions of the opposite sex. Very plaintive and touching strains are produced on the flute. They seem to have a deep effect upon the Indians, often moving the hearers to tears. Young men intentionally play these sad tunes to arouse the emotions of young girls, and the players themselves appear to be as much affected as anyone. The owner of a flute keeps his instrument wrapped up in a package and treats it with extreme care. It was formerly put to another use sometimes. When the people were traveling from a distance toward the town square to attend ceremonies there, the flute was often made to give forth a few measures of music as a sort of travelling song. When passing isolated farms or settlements on the route the flute was also played to signal the presence of the travellers and to call the hearers to join them on their journey to the town square.

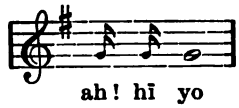
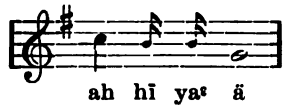
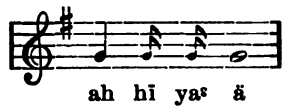
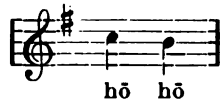
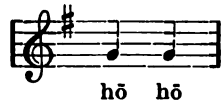
One of the tunes played on the flute as a love song was recorded on the phonograph and a transcription of it is offered below. The man who gave this tune exclaimed something like the following when he had finished: "Oh, if some girls were only here! When they hear that they cry and then you can fondle them. It makes them feel lonesome. I wish some were here now. I feel badly myself."

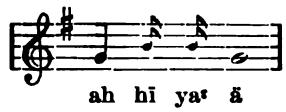
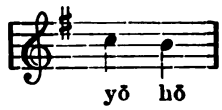
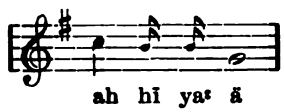
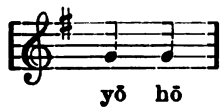
The strain is as follows:—

The above theme is repeated over and over again with all possible variations, as shown in the five typical staffs given.

The vocal ceremonial music of the Yuchi shows one feature at least which is rather more complex than what is generally found among Indians. The character of the music of the other southeastern tribes also resembles theirs in this respect. The characteristic trait is that, in many of the ceremonial dance songs, the leader gives one measure and his followers respond in chorus in another measure or in a variation of the leader's. It resembles what is commonly known as "round" singing where there are two members. A concrete example will, perhaps, better illustrate this point. In one of the favorite dances, the leader steps out from the lodge on the town square where his rank entitles him to sit, and walks over to the fire in the center of the square, passing around it several turns from right to left. At about the second turn he assumes a posture and rhythmic step, holds up his elbows and sings with a deep resonant voice

Before he has finished the final glide the other men, who have by this time filed in behind him, repeat the syllables on a lower note somewhere near the end of the glide, but with less of a musical tone

Immediately following this the leader repeats his first notes, changing the syllables to *hā hā—hā*. The file responds in chorus as before, changing their syllables to correspond with those of the leader. This may be repeated over again, by the leader, three or four times, sometimes varied with the syllables *hē hē—ē*, then he introduces a change.

He sings



the dancers respond with

and this is repeated four times. Then the leader changes again. With increasing vehemence he sings

to which the dancers respond with

and this is gone through four times. The leader then gives a shorter measure,

which the other dancers repeat, sounding their first note immediately after his last. The leader now, on his part, follows without a pause with

which the other dancers repeat after him. What has already been sung may constitute, with of course many fourfold repetitions, the first song of the dance and the leader closes it with a shrill yell which his followers echo. This type of song is very characteristic and common. There are, however, other ways of varying the "rounds," either by repeating the last two syllables of the leader's part on the same notes that he uses, or on different

notes in harmony with them. Another variation has been noted in which the syllables of the line dancers' responses are entirely different from the leader's. We have, for instance, in another song

sung by the leader, to which the dancers respond with

and the leader finishes the couplet with

to which the dancers answer

Other examples of the syllables which appear in the leader's strain and in the dancers' responses can be seen in some of the dance songs which will be given later on.

It is characteristic of the ceremonial dance songs that they consist almost entirely of meaningless syllables. Only in rare instances do words appear for a few measures, to be lost again in the rhythmic jumble of mere syllabic sounds.

The rhythm of the songs which coincides in most dances with the beat of the drum or the shake of the rattle is predominantly one-two. The shuffling step of the dancers also accommodates itself to this time. The only other drum rhythms heard were three-fourths, four-fourths and an attempted tremolo which occurs oftentimes at the end of a song or where a break is made. Both of the rattles, the hand rattle and the woman's terrapin shell leg rattles, are shaken in accordance with two-fourths time, either slowly or rapidly according to the circumstances. Vehemence or excitement naturally tends to increase the speed of the rhythm.

As regards the intrinsic harmony of the dance songs it must be added that to the ordinary European ear they are remarkably agreeable. The simple rhythm accented by the drum or rattle, and visualized by the steps and motions of the dancers has a noticeable carrying force. To the natural voices of the Indians the songs in both tone and syllable, are well adapted.

Much practice in singing the dance songs from early youth makes the unison and promptness of the responses almost mechanical.

There is another feature of the dance songs deserving of mention here. It is a common thing for men who are clever in this line to compose new songs, and words to go with them. They usually choose some occasion when dancing is going on to present their pieces. Naturally, of course, there is nothing radically original in either the wording or the music of the new dance songs. They are, as far as observation goes, largely plagiarized from more or less stereotyped native sources. In presenting a new piece the composer usually steps into the dancing space between dances and leads off with some familiar introduction until a few dancers have joined in behind him. Then when all are well started he begins his composition, while those behind him simply keep on with what they commenced. So the composer as dance leader carries on his new song much to the enjoyment of his consorts and the amusement of the spectators. No drumming accompanies these dances. Unfortunately full examples of this kind of musical innovation are not available in Yuchi. Such songs do not seem to have any religious bearing whatever. Their most prominent characteristics appear to be the humorous, the obscene and, in some respects, the clownish. Part of one song composition, which I remember, describes a man's attempt to plow with a castrated hog and a bison bull harnessed together. Before the first furrow is finished, as the song goes, the hog wants to wallow in the mud and the bison bull wants a drink. Then they break out of bounds and run away, leaving the man dumbfounded. An example of obscene composition is one which alternates stanzas of meaningless syllables, such as *ya lē ha'*, *yo ha hē'*, with short phrases describing cohabitation or mentioning the private parts.[1]

The Indians regard a good singer and dancer as an accomplished man, hence no little pride is manifested in the art. Love songs are also common and are sung to give vent to related emotions, such as loneliness, sorrow, joy and other passions. One of these songs, which are, for the most part, also burdens without meaning, was given in a paper on the Creek Indians[2], but this might be taken for a Yuchi song as well, being apparently common to both tribes.

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[1] The words of another pantomimic song of the same sort in Creek have been given in "The Creek Indians of Taskigi Town." Memoirs American Anthropological Association, Vol. II, part II, p. 138.

[2] Ibid., p. 120.

DIVISION OF TIME.

The seasons are four in number. Spring, called *hīnᴀⁿwadelé*, 'when summer is near,' is the time when agricultural activities are resumed after the comparative idleness of the winter. 'Summer,' *wādē'*, a term apparently related to *wāfá*, 'south,' is the long and active season. Autumn, *yacadīlé*, 'when the tree leaves are yellow,' is a period of combined rest, hunting and enjoyment. Winter was called *wīctá*, 'snow comes (?).' This season the people spent in idleness and recreation.

The year is further divided into moons or months, each of which has its name. The names of eleven of these moons with translations and the corresponding months in our calendar are as follows:

Sᴱ ā łatcpī'	Ground frozen month	January.
Ho'da dzó	Wind month	February.
Wädᴱá' sīnéⁿ	Little summer	March.
Wädᴱāᴱā'	Big summer	April
Decᴱō' nendzó	Mulberry ripening month	May.
Cpáco nendzó	Blackberry ripening month	June.
Wagᴱā' kyā	Middle of summer	July.
Tséne agá	Dog day	August.
Tsogá łī'ne tseᴱe	Hay cutting month	September.
Tsotᴱō' hoⁿstāné	Corn ripening month	October.
Ho'ctᴀⁿdᴱā' kyā	Middle of winter	December.

The passage of time during the day time is commonly observed by glancing at the sun. During the night time the moon and stars, if the weather is clear, serve the same purpose.

The day itself is divided into different periods equivalent, in our reckoning, to morning, noon, afternoon and evening. The names for these are *āgyālé*, 'at dawn,' 'morning'; *yūbałéⁿ*, 'noon,' derivative from *yū'ba* 'high,' referring to the sun; *padonᴀⁿhogyé*, 'afternoon,' 'toward the night;' *fᴱā* 'evening,' and lastly, *padó'* 'night.'

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION.

The social and political organization of the Yuchi is, for a primitive people, rather complex. What is offered here upon this subject probably does not represent all that could be said; neither is it to be supposed that the Indians of today retain a complete knowledge of earlier social conditions.

The social groups outside of the ordinary family consisting of man, wife or wives and offspring, are two, namely the clan, and another which for want of better terms we may call the society or class. The whole tribal community, inclusive of the various groups, forms another unit with special institutions, called the town. At several periods in history the town has been co-terminous with the tribe. At other times, when its settlements have been scattered over wider areas, the tribe has divided itself into several towns, some of these assuming independent names and the privileges of self control in political and religious matters. Anticipating somewhat the discussion of the clans we find these to be maternal totemic groups with the regulation of exogamy. These clans number about twenty. The society or class divisions, on the other hand, show a grouping of the males of the tribe into a two-fold division. This identity descends from father to son, certain public offices connected with religious ceremonies and political matters going with it. The societies, besides, are the only social divisions which have distinctive personal insignia, in the form of designs in facial painting. Lastly the town, or the tribe, we shall find to be the all-embracing institution with its elective officials, its annual religious ceremonials and its public square-ground where councils and social gatherings are held, and which, once a year, becomes, in the native mind, a religious shrine where the whole community is expected to assemble for the annual ceremonies.

After the Yuchi became a part of the confederacy instituted by the Creek (Muskogi) tribes a slight development is to be noted. The tribe then became politically a town of the confederacy and had to appoint a representative to the confederacy council, without, however, suffering the loss of its independence in most matters. The Yuchi tribe thereafter owed a certain amount of support to the Creek confederacy and was to a slight extent subject to its military decisions.

KINSHIP.

The family, in our sense of the word, as a group is of very little social or political importance in the tribe. The father has a certain individual social

standing according to his clan and according to his society. The woman on the other hand carries the identity of the children, who may be said to belong to her. The bonds of closest kinship, however, being reckoned chiefly through the mother, it would appear that the closest degrees of consanguinity are counted in the clan. This matter of kinship is better illustrated by the list of terms which I give below. The list does not claim to be exhaustive.

1. *dītso t^{s}ā^{n}*, my father.
2. *dītso hā^{n}*, my mother.
3. *dī s^{s}āné*, my son.
4. *dī^{s}yāné*, my daughter.
5. *dī go^{s}né*, my child (indefinite).
6. *dītso dané*, my brother, my clan brother.
7. *dītso wa^{s}né*, my sister, my mother's sister's daughter.
8. *dītso djīné*, my children (both sexes), great grandchildren, etc.
9. *dītso hā^{n}sī'* (literally "my little mother") my mother's sister.
10. *dītso t^{s}ā^{n}sī'*, (literally "my little father") my mother's brother, my father's brother.
11. *dī^{s}yA^{n}*, my mother's sister's son.
12. *dī lahá*, my father's sister, my mother's mother, my mother's grandmother, great-grandmother, etc., my father's mother (and her sisters and brothers).
13. *dītso^{3}ō'*, my mother's father, my mother's grandfather, great-grandfather, etc., my father's father (and his sisters and brothers).
14. *dī ga'tA^{n}*, my wife, (if there is more than one all are included under the same term), my husband (woman speaking).
15. *dītso géwosahA^{n}*, my wife's father, my wife's mother.
16. *dītso kyāné*, my wife's sister, my wife's father's sister, my wife's mother's sister.
17. *dītso djāné*, my wife's brother, my wife's father's brother, my wife's mother's brother.
18. *dī ga'tī'*, my friend.

A few remarks on this list will perhaps make the reckoning somewhat clearer. The children of the father's sisters and the children of the brother are not in the list, as they are expressed, not by any specific term of relationship, but by a combination of the involved terms, i. e., *dī lahá se s^{s}āné*, 'my father's sister, her son', and *dītso dané ho^{n}s^{s}āné*, 'my brother, his son.'

So also with the children of 'my wife's brothers and sisters,' and 'my wife's father's sisters and brothers.' In fact, by means of the first six terms (omitting

5) almost any relationship can be expressed. It is, moreover, frequently done in this way by those who are not well informed on the terms.[1]

The terms of relationship from 14 onwards answer as well for a man speaking as for a woman speaking.

It can readily be seen from this list that the lines of closest kinship are within the clan. (See 6, 7, 9, 10, 11.)

Contrary to what might be expected in America, it appears that no distinction in terms is made between elder or younger brothers and sisters and elder or younger sons and daughters.

Sex appears to be a distinctive characterizer as shown in most of the equivalents for *dī lahá* (12) and *dīts³o ō'* (13).

It is also rather peculiar that, after the first generation from the speaker, posterity is not differentiated, but is grouped promiscuously under the one term *dītso djīné* (8).

The Clans.

One of the social units of the Yuchi requiring to be taken up in detail is the clan. This is a group in which membership is reckoned through maternal descent. The members of each clan believe that they are the relatives and, in some vague way, the descendants of certain pre-existing animals whose names and identity they now bear. The animal ancestors are accordingly totemic. In regard to the living animals, they, too, are the earthly types and descendants of the pre-existing ones, hence, since they trace their descent from the same sources as the human clans, the two are consanguinely related.

This brings the various clan groups into close relationship with various species of animals and we find accordingly that the members of each clan will not do violence to wild animals having the form and name of their totem. For instance, the Bear clan people never molest bears, but nevertheless they use commodities made from parts of the bear. Such things, of course, as bear hides, bear meat or whatever else may be useful, are obtained from other clans who have no taboo against killing bears. In the same way the Deer people use parts of the deer when they have occasion to, but do not directly take part in killing deer.

In this way a sort of amnesty is maintained between the different clans and different kinds of animals while the blame for the injury of animals is shifted from one clan to the other. General use could consequently be made of the animal kingdom without obliging members of any clan to be the direct murderers of their animal relatives.

[1] To illustrate this I might add that several times young men who were asked for various terms of relationship gave the indirect or combined expressions instead of the actual term. For instance, I was given *ditso hą̄ⁿ' hoⁿ gâwa⁸ né*, 'my mother, her sister,' instead of *ditso hą̄ⁿ si'*, "my little mother,' 'my mother's sister' (9).

In common usage the clan is known collectively by its animal name: the men of the Panther clan calling themselves Panthers, those of the Fish clan, Fish, and so on through the list. The totemic animals are held in reverence, appealed to privately in various exigencies, and publicly worshipped in dances during the annual ceremony so often referred to.

The idea of the clan or totem is expressed by the word *yū'ta*, 'on the house.' The Bear clan, for instance, is designated by the expression *sag^{ɛ}ē' yūta*, 'bear on the house,' or, in a somewhat different manner, by the expression *sag^{ɛ}ē'taha*, 'those who have the bear on them.' By these etymologies, the inference is that in former times, the members of one clan resided together in the same dwelling under the same totem, and that some realistic or symbolic sign about the person distinguished the different clansfolk from each other. It should be recalled in this connection that the tribal totem, the sun, was painted over the doorway of the Yuchi house and that the men wore decorative designs in beadwork which indicated their affinity to the sun. Clan totemic designs may have been displayed in a like manner.

It will be shown later on that the young man or boy in the course of his adolescence reaches a period when he is initiated into the rank of manhood in his town. This event is connected with totemism. For from the time of his initiation he is believed to have acquired the protection of his clan totem. Thenceforth he stands in a totemic relation similar to the young man of the plains tribes who has obtained his "medicine." Here in the Southeast, however, the "medicine" is not represented by a concrete object, but is the guiding influence of a supernatural being. The earthly animals nevertheless are believed in many cases to possess wisdom which may be useful to human beings, so the different clans look to their animal relatives for aid in various directions. Among the tribes of the plains, however, each man has an individual guardian spirit, which is not necessarily the same as his gens totem.

From several informants the following list of clans has been collected, but there seems to be some doubt about those which are marked * as they were not generally agreed upon.

1 Bear, *Sag^{ɛ}ē'*.
2 Wolf, *Dałá*.
3 Deer, *We^{ɛ}yA$^{n'}$*.
4 Tortoise, *Täb^{ɛ}ä'*.
5 Panther, *Wētc^{ɛ}A$^{n'}$*.
6 Wildcat, *Cad^{ɛ}ané*.
7 Fox, *Catiené*.
8 Wind, *Godá*.
9 Fish, *Cū*.
10 Beaver, *Cagä$^{n'}$*.
11 Otter, *Cūłané*.
12 Raccoon, *Djä'tīe^{n}*.
13 Skunk, *YūsA$^{n'}$*.
14 Opossum, *Wētsagowa$^{n'}$*.
15 Rabbit, *Cadjwané*.
16 Squirrel, *Cáya*.
17 Turkey, *Wētc^{ɛ}á*.
18 Eagle*, *Cû'na*.
19 Buzzard*, *YA^{n}tī'*.
20 Snake*, *Ca*.

A mythical origin is ascribed to clans. When the earth was completed, the beings upon it were made to assemble and told to advance to a certain distance. Upon their return, in full view of the assembly, some would ask, "What does he look like?" Then *Gohä'ntonē'*, a supernatural being, gave them names according to the nature that they exhibited in their movements. Those who jumped on trees became birds, and those showing other physical peculiarities became various animals, thenceforth the ancestors of clans. This account, taken from the Creek, is asserted by the Indians to be identical with that of the Yuchi. Tribal myths relating to the various exploits of animals that appear in the clan list are told for the purpose of praising the totem and showing his superiority over the other totems. Into this class some negro myth elements, and perhaps whole animal tales, may have become incorporated, since each clan welcomes praiseworthy stories of its totem's exploits and is ready to repeat such tales as though they were of native origin. Most Indians, however, distinguish between what is original and what is borrowed.

The social rank of these clans is not equal throughout. Four at least are classed above the others, and from one of them the town chief is chosen. Others, given at the foot of the list are rather looked down upon and seldom if ever represented in official positions.

The town chief of the Yuchi, the four head chiefs of the ceremonies, and the medicine priest, must be chosen from either the Bear, Wolf, Tortoise or Deer clans. There is some attempt made to have two of the four ceremonial chiefs from two different clans. At the last celebration of the ceremonies two were from the Bear clan and two from the Wolf, the town chief himself being a Bear. The neighboring Creek towns are likewise headed by a member of the leading clan in each town. The modern explanation given for this hegemony is that the head clan is the most numerous and most powerful in the town, but the real explanation, as in all such cases, is probably a very different one, although we have no means of knowing what it is. The next to the highest official at the ceremonies, the *goconé*, who represents the Warrior society, is usually taken from the Panther clan.

No particular insignia is found to distinguish the different clans from one another. There are, furthermore, no esoteric clan ceremonies among the Yuchi, all clan religious worship being held in common by the town at the annual festival. Dances are likewise performed by the townsmen irrespective of their clan, the dances being for the honor and propitiation of the clan totem for whom the dance is named. It would appear from this that the clan organizations and clan religious rites have become subordinated to the town organization in the course of time. Direct historical evidence for such a supposition, however, is wanting, except for the fact that in their old home the Yuchi are reported to havė lived in clan communities more centralized than we find them now.

No clan groups or phratries are recognized at the present time, nor are clans subdivided. There are, besides, no historical evidences of convergence. From the beginning clans are believed to have remained separate and distinct and must continue so. In regard to the antiquity of the present clan system it appears that no historical changes have taken place, except where occasional extinction may have occurred.

One fact should, however, be mentioned, at least in connection with a possible clan grouping in some former period. Reference is made, in a myth to a time when the tribe was holding a dance. The people were divided into two bands, those dancing with bear hides over the shoulders and known as the Bear-hide people, *sag^{s} ē hʌntcwá,* and those dancing with wildcat skins, the Wildcat-hide people, *cātīenē' hʌntcwá.* A dispute arose amongst them and the two groups separated. The Bear-hide people departed westward and were never heard from again. Those that remain today are all Wildcat people. What the historical significance of this myth or tradition may be it is unsafe to say. The important restriction of exogamy which holds for all the clans equally, will be described under marriage.

Until recently the blood-feud prevailed, but reprieve was granted to an offender who was able to get inside the public-square ground during the annual ceremonies without being apprehended. Maintenance of clan honor and reverence for their totem were exacted of all people, because the displeasure of the totem was feared. As the taboo of taking the life or eating the flesh of the totemic animal rested upon all, should the taboo be broken, propitiation had to be made in the nature of a fine, which was paid to the clan, either in live stock or property, else the offender was punished by a whipping.

Upon the death of a man the ordinary property of the household which properly belonged to him is divided among his own and his sister's children who are naturally of his clan. All of the personal property of a woman descends to her children. If she has none, it goes to her nearest clan relatives.

CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS.

Before becoming subject to our laws the Yuchi had their own regulations in regard to crime. Punishments were not inflicted by any organized body, but it was understood that whoever discovered the wrong, or whoever caught the wrongdoer, had the privilege of giving the punishment. The clan as a body was often the agent.

Murder was considered the greatest wrong. The clan of the victim usually hunted down the culprit and took vengeance upon him. Sometimes, however, only the immediate family was concerned. When the murderer was found he was killed as nearly as possible in the same way that he had committed the

murder. If the murderer had used a knife on the victim, then he was executed with a knife, the same one if possible. If he had used a rifle then he was shot in the same way that he had done the deed. No vengeance, however, was undertaken by the clan of a murderer for his death. There was only one way for a man who was outlawed for a misdemeanor to be forgiven, and that was for him to hide away until the next harvest ceremony and then try to get safely inside the town square during the event. If he succeeded in this he was not molested and was thereafter exempt from vengeance.

Adultery and fornication were the next most serious offences. The husband or his family were the agents of punishment in this case, although anyone discovering the parties in the act had the right to inflict mutilation. Fornicators and adulterers when caught were invariably punished by having their ears cut off. The man and the woman were both treated in this way.

Thieving was a minor offence and the matter was usually settled without much of a disturbance, the property being returned or an equivalent rendered.

Personal injury was revenged by personal retaliation. Sometimes, however, the victim's clan would help him to retaliate.

It would also happen that sometimes families, or a few townspeople, would band together to rid the community of an undesirable member, or to inflict chastisement on some intolerable mischief maker. For instance, it often happened that young women who were pestered too much by some man would conspire together, waylay him and abuse him until they thought he had enough of a lesson. Not infrequently men of this sort were very seriously mutilated by enraged and vindictive women. A case is remembered where a woman cut off the private parts of a man who had forced her into cohabitation.

The Societies.

Another social grouping entirely separate and distinct from the clan system exists among the Yuchi. Its members are not necessarily considered as kin, but represent two divisions of the tribe which include the entire male population. Every male child is born into one of these two divisions and counts his eligibility to membership through his father. The two divisions are the Chief society and the Warrior society, respectively, *balé*^{n} and *sā*^{n}*bá*. Inherited membership in these societies is as rigid as it is in the clan, alienation being impossible. Certain rights belong to these societies, which will be described in separate paragraphs. But perhaps the chief idea concerned with them is that the Chief society is a peace band, and the Warrior society is a war band. Tribal subdivisions based on the same functional idea are characteristic of several other southern tribes, among whom may be mentioned the Creeks, and the Osage. Undoubtedly, when more is known, other tribes will be found to have similar

institutions. The Sauk, for instance, have something apparently quite similar.[1]

[1] As so little on the subject of the social subdivisions among the southern and southeastern tribes has appeared in print, it seems advisable to present here what little is available for comparison.

The Creek tribes in general recognized the difference in function between two classes of men in some of which membership was elective. These were the Chiefs and the Warriors, the former less numerous but more influential in some towns, the latter having the political control in other towns In Taskigi town, for example, the highest permanent authority was a Chief instead of a Warrior, on account of which the town was classed as a white or peace town. Facial painting among the Taskigi had for its object the designation of the two divisions. (Cf. Creek Indians of Taskigi town, pp. 111, 114.)

Among the Chickasaw all the clans are grouped into two divisions which, in sentiment, are manifestly ill-disposed to each other, reciprocally attributing sickness to each other, holding separate ceremonies, having separate officers, a separate camping place, and wearing different facial painting. Here, too, one group is held in higher esteem, the other being considered inferior. (Cf. Notes on Chickasaw Ethnology, Journal American Folk-Lore, Vol. XX, p. 51).

The Osage gentes are grouped together in two divisions, politically opposite in function. The one is for war, the other for peace, each having its own camping place, personal marks, officers and local interests. (Cf. Siouan Sociology, Fifteenth Report Bureau American Ethnology, 1893-94, and Notes on the Ethnology of the Osage Indians, Transactions of the Department of Archeology, University of Pennsylvania, Vol. II, part 2, p. 166-7).

"The warriors of the Saukie nation are divided into two bands or parties, one of which is called Kishkoquis, or the 'Long Hairs,' and the other Oshkush, the brave..... The Kishkoquis, or 'Long Hairs,' are commanded by the hereditary war chief Keokuk, whose standard is red; the head man of the Oshkushies is Kaipolequa.....whose standard is blue. The 'Long Hairs' take precedence in point of rank. The formation of these parties is a matter of national concern, and is effected by a simple arrangement. The first male child who is born to a Kishkoquis is marked with white paint, the distinguishing color of the Kishkoquis, and belongs to that party; the next male of the same family is marked with black paint, and is attached to the Oshkushies, and so on alternately, the first son belonging to the band with his father, and the others being assigned in turn first to one band, and then to the other. Thus all the warriors are attached to one or the other band, and the division is as nearly equal as it could be by any arrangement commencing with infancy.

"Whenever the whole nation or any large party of warriors turns out to engage in a grand hunt, or a warlike expedition, or for the purpose of performing sham battles, or ball plays, the individuals belonging to the two bands are distinguished by their appropriate colors. If the purpose of the assemblage is for sham fighting, or other diversion, the Kishkoquis daub their bodies all over with white clay, and the Oshkushies blacken themselves with charcoal; the bands are ranged under their respective leaders and play against each other rallying under the red and blue banners. In war and in hunting, when all must be ranged on one side, the white and the black paints are mingled with other colors, so that the distinction is kept up, and after the close of the expedition.....the trophies of each band collectively are compared and the deeds of each repeated. The object of these societies will be readily seen. They form a part of the simple machinery of a military government... From early youth each individual is taught to feel that .....the honor of his band as well as his own is concerned in his success or failure....."

Cf. McKenny and Hall, History of the Indian Tribes of North America, etc., Philadelphia, 1848, vol. I, p. 117.

The Chief society, *balé*^{n}, has the right of being seated, during ceremonies, in the west lodge of the town square, and from its ranks are chosen the highest public officials. Four chiefs occupy the front of the lodge, the principal or town chief being of their number and their head. These four are the first to come forward to participate in the ceremonial events. In the town council it is a Chief who must light the pipe and start it around. The main recognized function of the Chief society is to manage the governmental affairs of the town so that peace is preserved. They are, above all, conservative in everything. If anything, the Chiefs hold themselves above the Warriors in general esteem. They are the thinkers, the speakers, the dignified superiors of the town.

Although there exists no strictly regular design for the facial decoration of a Chief, yet the following limitations are traditionally observed. Little or no black is used, both eyes are surrounded with red, and usually on each cheek alternating bars, less than two inches long, of blue and yellow are laid horizontally (Pl. X, Fig. 5). Frequently three small blue spots are placed in a line between the corner of the eye and the temple (Fig. 8). Any of these markings may be omitted or varied to suit personal fancy, yet the characteristics are prominently retained. The young child members of the Chief society, who have not yet been formally initiated to the band, are usually decorated with red on the eyebrows, cheeks and forehead (Fig. 2). It is asserted that this society has the privilege of exercising more freedom in the use of various colors than the Warrior society.

The Warrior society, *sā*^{n}*bá*, has four representatives, who are seated two in the north lodge and two in the south lodge, during the ceremonies. One of their number is head, and is called *goconé*. He is the highest in rank of the Warrior society his special office during the ceremonies being to insure continuous dancing, to take care of the fire while dancing is going on, and to appoint players in the ball game. The Warrior society forms one side in the ball game; they are known as mean players, while their opponents, being of the other society, display a more dignified demeanor. The four Warriors are second to the Chiefs and follow them when the emetic is taken. This society also supplies the official who performs the scratching operation at the ceremonies. In the council and at the ceremonies the common members of the Warrior society are seated in the north and south lodges, ranged behind their representatives. Their tendency in political affairs was formerly, to advocate the appeal to arms. When war was decided upon, the Warriors embarked in a body under their head man, who might accordingly be called a sort of war chief.

The characteristic pattern of this society is to have one half of the face red, the other black, (Pl. X, Fig. 7). A variation of this pattern, said to be a simplification, is to paint only one eye socket black and the other red. Accompanying this modification the upper lip is often blackened (Fig. 3).

Exceptions to the above formulæ in facial decoration are quite frequent and unexplainable. At the 1905 ceremonies one occupant of the Warrior lodge had merely a red line drawn from the corners of the mouth to the angle of the jaw bone (Pl. X, Fig. 1). Both in 1904 and 1905 the Yuchi town chief wore no paint whatever, neither did the functionary who performed the scratching operation. Chiefs have been observed at other times with red blotches or two or three red bars on the cheeks (Fig. 6).

If anything, something of a hostile feeling is manifested and felt between the two societies. This is allowed to break out in a mild way, upon the occasion of the ball game, where, as before stated, the two societies make up opposite sides. Jealousy on the part of the Warriors may be at the bottom of this. The inheritance of property partially follows the paternal line, thereby keeping within each society much of the property of its members. At his death each male among the Yuchi is painted with the design appropriate to his society, and slight differences in mortuary observances are supposed to exist. A mythical origin is ascribed to the societies. A supernatural being, *Gohäntoné*, is believed to have been their originator, as was stated by those who claimed to know anything at all on the subject.

In general, it may be added that at the annual ceremony the office of the Chief society is to care for the medicine plants and their administration, while the Warrior society presides over dancing and games, each society being represented in the field of ceremonial action by the four members with special privileges. In all affairs, however, the Chief society takes precedence.

From all appearances men of the Chief class prefer to have their daughters marry Chiefs rather than Warriors for the sake of maintaining the social superiority of their line. There is, though, no strict rule about this. If the tendency toward endogamy were carried much further in the societies, they might be described as non-totemic gentes, in the restricted American sense of the term, and we should have an instance here of both a clan and a gentile system flourishing in the same tribe.

When the whole matter is considered as it stands among the Yuchi today, it seems, if anything, that the society organization has a more prominent place in the social life of the town than the clan organization. Whereas the position of town chief is kept in the hands of a certain clan and many of the ceremonial dances are supposed to have been formerly more in the nature of clan dances, we find, nevertheless, that military, religious and most political officers are chosen according to their society. As for military and most political matters of the town they are quite evidently more the concerns of the societies than of the clans.

As nothing definite regarding the actual history of the society organization can be stated, it can only be said that the two social groups exist side by side, having the tribal honors and privileges fairly equally divided between them.

In a general way there appear to be some points of resemblance between these divisions and the ceremonial and military societies of the plains. The simple inheritance of the society privileges, which characterizes the Southeast, offers a contrast in some respects to the custom as we find it in other regions. In some tribes of the plains heraldic and society rights invested in sacred bundles are transmitted by sale and purchase, while among the Kwakiutl, whose social organization has been thoroughly studied, and so serves well for purposes of comparison, the rights to ceremonies and heraldry are acquired by marriage.

To a certain extent, bearing in mind the feeling of superiority on the part of the Chiefs, and their position in the town, the two Yuchi society groups remind one of the social castes of the Natchez, if we rightly interpret the nature of the latter from historical records.

The Town and Town Square.

We now come to the consideration of the town. This is the ruling institution in the life of the Yuchi, the same holding true for most of the other southeastern tribes. It has superseded in political importance the other social groupings, and, as far as any governmental activities are carried on at all, they too are the affairs of the town. The societies are represented by officers in town gatherings, while some of the clans have assumed the right to fill the highest town office, as we have seen before. The town is extremely democratic, however, as all of the men are expected to be present at its meetings, having the equal right to express opinions upon public matters which may be up for debate and to acclaim their vote for or against candidates for the town offices. The ritualistic and ceremonial life of the community is also a matter of town interest. The chief religious rites take place once a year publicly in the town square. Here again every male is a common participant in the events that take place, and the leaders of the minor social groups become for the time the ceremonial officials as well. Besides these officials, with double functions as it were, there are several others who do not seem to have any special concern with clan or society, but who have to do chiefly with the town when it is assembled either on religious or political occasions.

The Yuchi town, consisting of families, clans, and societies, forms by itself an independent social group, as has been shown. The identity, politically speaking, between the terms town and tribe has also been mentioned. There are three such towns recognized today, one of them less important than the others: Polecat, Sand Creek, and Big Pond, the last being the least. The town comprises an area of settlement having a common public ceremonial and council square-ground. It has a chief representative, who is called *'bâle*^{n},' the chief religious official as well. He was also the representative of his town in the Creek House of Kings. Two towns, Polecat and Sand Creek, perform an annual ceremony at which the presence of all townsmen is

required, under penalty of a fine which is paid to the four principal chiefs and used to defray the expenses of the attendant feast.[1]

Membership in the town is decided entirely by birth. But with proper recognition a stranger who marries a Yuchi woman may become a member by being initiated at the annual ceremonies. Initiation merely consists in undergoing the ceremonial operations with the men of the town. The town has the power to make peace or war. Redress for individual wrongs inflicted by aliens is demanded by the town, and the town, furthermore, must be party to all undertakings or stipulations with foreigners.

In taking a view of the old town idea and the later developed Creek Confederacy, let us consider the condition of the Yuchi in their original seats, in the east. There they lived in scattered communities, each having a public town square and town ceremony just as today. Representatives were chosen to appear at the tribal gatherings which occurred once a year when all the settlements or villages were assembled. With the inroads of the unorganized Muskogi from the west, and their incorporation of the indigenous southeastern stocks, it would be very natural for them to seize upon a town system which was found on the soil, well fitted to their mode of life and adaptable to a loose protective confederacy. The loose confederacy then, when the Muskogi had completed their conquest of the natives and become properly organized, appeared as nothing more than an improved and extended type of the town system in vogue among themselves and the Yuchi.

THE TOWN SQUARE.—The center of the town is a square plot of ground kept free from vegetation and trampled down smooth and hard all over. This plot is known as the rainbow, or big house, *yū^{s}ā'*. Its four sides face north, east, south and west respectively. Here is the sacred ground of the town where civil and ceremonial events take place. The square, moreover, is the town itself in sentiment. It is located near water, and at a point convenient to the townsfolk. Its sides are about 75 feet in extent. Three lodges constructed of upright posts roofed with brush, open on all sides, stand on its borders, one on the north, one on the west and one on the south side of the square. In the center of the square is a spot where the fire is kept burning during night gatherings. Some idea of the general appearance of the town square and the lodges can be obtained from the photographs illustrating the different stages of the ceremonies (Plates XII-XIV). The architecture of the lodges is the same as that of the dwellings figured before. It is commonly reported, however, that some generations ago the lodges on the square-ground were quite different from those of today. They were

[1] In the 1905 ceremonies, the *goconé*, through intoxication, was unable to undergo the scratching operation. For this, he and several others were each fined $2.50 by the chiefs. If money is not forthcoming the equivalent in stock or property is exacted.

without roofs, being merely four tiers of logs intended for seats. These were graded in elevation so as to afford all the audience an unobstructed view of the square. The front and lowest seat consisted simply of a log resting

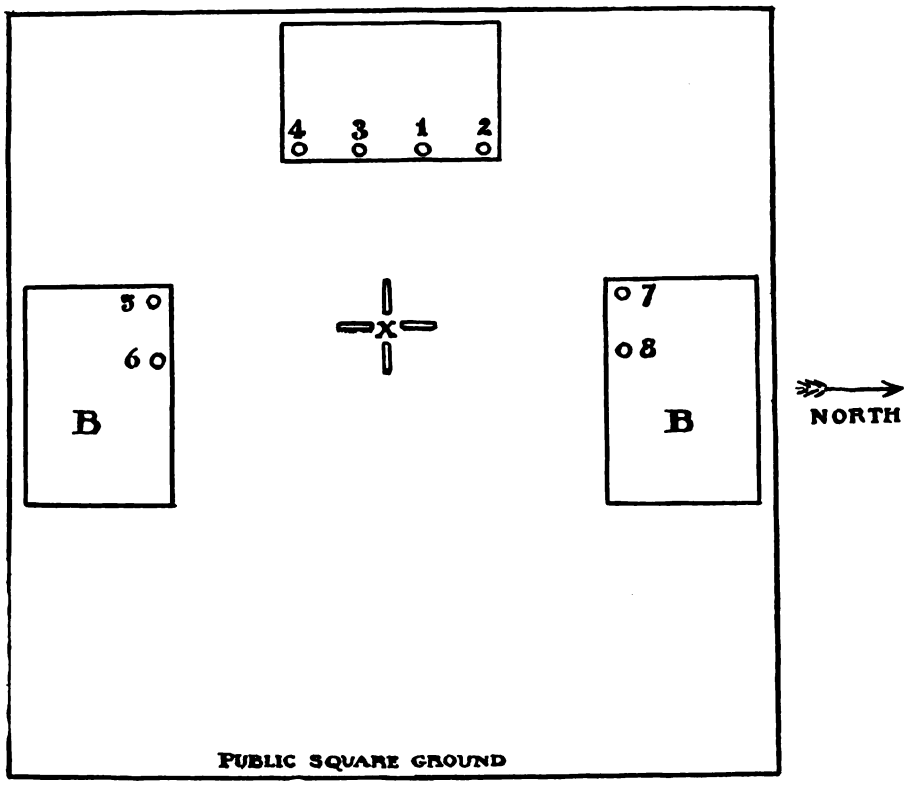

Fig. 33. Diagram of Yuchi Town Square, showing seating of officials in council.

A. Chief Society Lodge
1. Town Chief, Bear Clan.
2. Assistant, Wolf Clan.
3. Chief, Wolf Clan.
4. Chief, Bear Clan.

B. Warrior Society Lodge
5. Scratching Official, (?)
6. Warrior Official, Bear Clan.
7. (Master of Cermonies) *Goconè*, Panther Clan.
8. Warrior Official, Bear Clan.

X. Fire Place.

upon the ground. The second was several feet higher, supported by crotched or forked posts. The third was still higher, and the last bank of

seats was some feet above the ground, enabling those sitting there to see over the heads of the spectators in front.

A diagram of the town square showing the seating arrangement for the inhabitants and for the different groups and officials is given in Fig. 33. It should be added that the ordinary members of the Chief society are ranged on log seats behind their leaders 1, 2, 3, 4 in the west lodge A. The other two lodges, B, are for the Warriors whose leaders are seated at 5, 6, 7, and 8. The clans of the various officials are given with the explanation of the figure, to show how these are represented among the leaders at the time of this writing. No particular arrangement in the location of different clans and societies about the square seems to have been thought of. Aliens and strangers are allowed on the square-ground at all times except during the second day of the annual ceremony.

Only the political aspect of the town square has been thus far dealt with. Its religious aspect, however, is even of greater importance It has already been said that the square-ground symbolizes the rainbow. In this sense it represents the rainbow as the town square of the supernatural beings, the idea having been brought to earth, with instructions to perpetuate it, by the tribal deity, the Sun. In emulation of the supernatural beings who were holding a meeting upon the rainbow in the world above when the Sun himself was born, the earthly people now congregate upon the earthly rainbow-shrine for their communal events. At the time of the annual ceremonies the square-ground is decorated in places with colored material, ashes, paint and vegetation to carry out the symbolism, the place becoming, for the time, a great religious emblem. As this, however, is more closely connected with religion than with the present heading, the description of the square as a tribal shrine is reserved for another place.

Town Officials and Council.

Town Officials.—The following deals with various town officials and their functions, as far could be learned. The officers are given in the list in the order of their rank.

Bále^{n} *gabidáne.*—A tribal chief having this title is chosen for life to represent the tribe in the Creek confederacy councils.

Bale$^{n\varrho}\bar{a}'$.—This is a town chief elected from the Bear clan as the civil and religious head. He must be of Chief class. A worthy clansman of his is chosen to assist him and to inherit his place. This man, too, has an important place in the ceremonies and is called also *bále*^{n}.

Bále^{n}.—Three Chiefs having this title comprise the town chief's staff.

Goconé.—This is a master of ceremonies from the Panther clan and represents the highest official of the Warrior society. He is the treasurer, so to speak, of the town and possesses the power of a kind of policeman. He is

the master of dances and the fire guardian at the night ceremonies. His duties cease at the beginning of the ball game which concludes the annual ceremony.

Goconé or *Sā"bá.*—Three other Warriors comprises the staff of the preceding officer, being called also *goconé.* They, with the master-of-ceremonies, form a sort of Warrior committee.

All of these officers are both the civil and religious functionaries upon ceremonial occasions. The qualifier *yū^{s}ahé,* 'square ground,' is prefixed to their titles, as in *yū^{s}ahō'bałe"*.

The following few officers seem to have had occasion for employment only at the annual ceremonies, in the various capacities mentioned.

Yātcigī'.—Four young men about to be initiated were given their first official duties under leadership of one of their number. They were the actual police of the public square, their badges of office being staffs about seven feet long. They had to keep women and dogs from the square and to prevent men from sleeping or leaning against posts during ceremonies. They handled the sacred fire materials and procured and prepared the emetic. They will be mentioned again later. This town square ceremonial service was really the culmination of their initiation period, and the young men entered into full tribal manhood after it was over.

Gondīné or *Yatsá.*—The scratcher, one of the four *goconé,* was chosen from the Warrior society to perform the ceremonial scratching operation upon the men.

Ka'ká, 'white man.'—Two butchers had entire charge of the feast preparations at the ceremony. Their insignia were also staffs. They were also the heralds for the town at this time.

All of these offices are given by simple election or appointment in council in the public square, and are held for life unless deposition is warranted on grounds of inefficiency or for some other good reason. The *yatcigī',* however, leave their office when they marry and other boys take their places.

THE COUNCIL.—The Yuchi council is the town assembly under the charge of the officials. It is held in the public square at intervals appointed by the town chief, as a rule lasting all day. Every townsman is expected to be present and seated in either the Chief lodge or the Warrior lodges, according to his society. The four principal chiefs occupy the front log of their lodge and the four *'goconé',* two in each opposite Warrior lodge, are seated upon the front log of that lodge. The town chief is the first to speak announcing the purpose of the assembly. From the fire, which is started in the usual place in the center of the square, a pipe is lighted by a member of the Chief society and passed around. After due deliberation in smoking a speech can be made by anyone wishing to do so. It is usual, however, for the town chief to be the first to make an address. He rises from his seat and states the subject under consideration, at the same time giving words of advice and asking for serious thought in connection with the matter. Should the town chief for

any reason not wish to make the speech himself, he can dictate it to an assistant, who will commit it to memory and, at the proper time, deliver it in public as though he were the town chief himself.

In times of the election of officials, speeches are made by the supporters of the candidates, or those opposing them, until a majority is reached in the case of each candidate. This is necessary in all elections to office. In the actual election or casting of ballots, the men of the town assemble on the town square in a long line. Then, as they start to walk toward the town chief, those who are in favor of the candidate step out of the line to one side. A man of the Warrior society, usually the *goconé*, counts them and reports the result to the town chief, who concludes with a speech of inauguration. Councils and elections of this sort are usually ended by night-time and the towns folk then fall to dancing in the square-ground until daybreak. The seating in the council is the same as that in the ceremonies. The decisions of the body are made public throughout the town and carried into effect by the *goconé*. Two Warriors often serve as heralds during council meetings and during the ceremonies. These are the *ka'kà*. They are a sort of police as well.

The Yuchi tribe has a head chief who is known as its highest representative. His town, the Polecat settlement, is now the center of religious and political activity.

Every individual not a Yuchi by blood is held as an inferior, and a separate pronominal gender in the language distinguishes the Yuchi from all other tribes and races. Nevertheless, men of other tribes often marry Yuchi women and thenceforth are obliged, under penalty of a fine, to take part in tribal activities. Such, however, are not often elected to offices. They sit in the Warrior society lodges in the square. A few Creeks and Shawnees are thus intermingled with the Yuchi. As a part of the Muskogi confederacy, the Yuchi tribe occupied an equal place with the various other tribes and stocks that composed this body. Officially it was called in Creek, Yuchi Town, *Yū'tsi tálwa*, and sent one representative to the Creek House of Kings and four (sometimes called Commissioners) to the House of Warriors at Muscogee, I. T., the then capital of the Creek Nation. Yuchi Town is looked upon as quite an important one in the confederacy, for it always has been somewhat aggressive.

If in conclusion we interpret the social conditions correctly it would appear, from what has been said, that certain of the clans had established their own prominence in the village community, made up different totemic groups, and assumed the prerogative of filling the highest governmental office, namely that of town chief. From this point on, we may venture to say, the various social elements of the town obtained representation in public offices until a balance of power was reached and the present town organization resulted.

WARFARE.

The military was only a moderately developed institution with the Yuchi. As far as we are able to judge, the training of young men for the war path was undertaken as a means of defense, rather than for the purpose of aggression. The original idea was apparently to maintain the political unity of the tribe, and to protect its territory against the encroachments of foreigners. The town council, consisting of the chief as chairman and representatives from the Chief and Warrior societies, together with war leaders and other old men of integrity and experience, exercised the privilege of declaring war against an enemy, calling all the able-bodied men of the Warrior class into action. In such a case the town was said to "go out" and the movement was a unanimous, tribal one. The matter, however, would be debated in the town square for some time, the Warrior society usually clamoring for action, the Chief society bringing to bear a conservative influence on the debate.

On the whole, little seems to be known of the military history of this tribe. Hawkins states that Benjamin Harrison attacked one of the Yuchi towns and killed sixteen gun men. Historically we know of another such instance during the Creek War, 1814, when the Yuchi joined the Creeks in an effort to repulse General Jackson and suffered, in consequence, quite serious losses at the hands of the troops. They as a tribe no doubt supported the Creek towns at other times after their incorporation into the Creek Confederacy.

There was, however, nothing to prevent the gratification of individual inclinations toward making up parties for raiding or for war with other tribes. The Yuchi, like typical Indians, often proceeded to do this. Such parties often comprised the members of a clan who were bent on retaliation, or they might be made up of restless, violent fellows who thirsted for excitement or plunder. In such a project, we are told, the town itself had no share of responsibility and often manifested openly its disapproval. Neither would the town acknowledge the blame before the representatives of other tribes which had been assaulted by such parties.

For warfare the Yuchi used the same kind of bows and arrows as for hunting. These have been described. In addition, a club, *gēg^{e}ané* or *yāk^{e}ā'*, was carried. A sketch of one of these is given, Pl. IX, Fig. 6, as it was remembered by an Indian. Its handle was of wood and the head was a wooden ball. A string of feathers ran from the end of the handle to the head. Axes with stone, and later with iron heads, are remembered to have been used. They were called *tcīdī'*. A modification of the iron tomahawk, *tcīdī'yud^{e}a'*, 'tomahawk pipe,' was much in vogue, during the colonial times, among the

Yuchi as among most of the eastern tribes. These, of course, were obtained from white traders. Nothing, however, is remembered of spears or shields.

Before going into action the warriors were careful to have their faces painted with the design appropriate to their society or class. A head covering or helmet was made of leather stiffened and rounded on top to deaden the impact of a club or arrow. The whole affair was rather low and dome-shaped and was colored red, symbolic of war.

In the attack an attempt would often be made to take captives. These would be taken to the town and burnt at the stake right off or kept until the next annual ceremony. Here, then, they were sacrificed by being burnt in the southeast corner of the town square at high noon of the second ceremonial day, as an offering to the Sun. The shedding of human blood upon the town square shrine at this ceremonial time was, as we shall see later, quite an important rite.

Scalps were taken by removing the whole scalp, the hair of men being dressed to form one entire scalp lock covering the crown. When scalps were brought to the town, they were stretched on hoops and carried in a dance at night, by the women relatives of those who took them, as among the prairie tribes. A cry, said to be in imitation of the wolf, was given by a warrior when a scalp was taken, and the same cry is nowadays given by a player in the ball game who throws a goal. This is called the 'gobble-whoop,' as it ends in a tremulous gobble made in the throat; a very popular cry among all the southern tribes. Before going to war the town would perform all the dances and many of the ceremonies of the annual ceremony, to propitiate and secure the favor of the clan totems and other beings. This performance was called the War Dance in the common parlance of the Indians and white men.

GAMES.

With the Yuchi, all games have a strong ceremonial aspect. They are, most of them, of a public character, taking place in the allotted playground adjacent to the public square. The afternoon of the second day of the annual festival is the usual time for playing them ceremonially. Many of the games are accompanied by ritual, more especially the ball game. Stakes are wagered in nearly all games by both players and spectators. Like most Indian games the betting is a very important item of consideration.

The first to call for description is the ball game played with two rackets and known quite generally among the tribes of the Southeast. A number of descriptions of the game as played by various tribes are available and offer interesting material for comparison.[1]

This game commands more interest among the Yuchi than any other, and is always played after the emetic is taken and the feast completed, on the second day of the annual ceremony. It has been, however, played at other times of the year by different parties in the tribe or made an intertribal or intertown contest for the purpose of betting. The Yuchi have frequently played against other towns of the Creek Nation. The game is still played in a modified manner.

A rite, called the Ball Game Dance, is performed the night before, in honor of the sticks which are used in the game, and the supernatural power residing in them. The sticks are placed on a scaffold, usually in the west lodge of the square ground, with a line of women standing behind it. Men, including the players, are lined up on the opposite side. They all sing and stamp their feet, but in this dance the loudest singing is done by the women. Sometimes the sticks are painted red for this ceremony, to symbolize their combative function.

As many players as wish or are fitted to do so may take part in the game, though the sides must be evenly matched. On this occasion, men of the Chief class form one side and Warriors the other. The latter are traditionally mean players, even nowadays resorting to foul play and violence. Each side choses a chief or leader, and his regalia at the present day consists of a

[1] A compilation of much of the material has been made by Culin and published. See games of the North American Indians, in Twenty-fourth Annual Report of Bureau American Ethnology (1902–1903), p. 561, *et seq.*

cow's tail stained red, worn sticking out from the back of the belt, or a collar of red cloth having a number of blue strips hanging from it. Common players must not wear foot coverings or hats. The custom now is to have a handkerchief bound around the head. Formerly no clothing save the breechcloth and sash or cow's tail was worn.

Goals consisting of two uprights and a cross piece are erected at each end of a level stretch, about 250 feet apart. The course of the ball field is east and west. Each goal is sacred to one side, and various means are attempted to bewitch that of the opponents. If a woman with child can be made to encircle the goal of the opposite side it will cause that side to lose. In very formal games certain taboos of actions and diet were enforced, but these practices are now obsolete.

The sticks used in this game are made of hickory. Two are used by each player, that in the right hand often being longer by several inches. These ball sticks, *dagä^{n}cá* (Pl. VI, Fig. 2), are usually about three feet long, of heavy, well-seasoned hickory wood. They are sometimes circular, sometimes polygonal in section. The scoop to catch the ball in is formed by cutting about one foot of the shaft down flat, then turning and bending it back upon the handle end, where it is lashed fast in several places. The open scoop is then netted with rawhide or deerskin, one thong running lengthwise across the open and another crosswise. In some particularly good sticks there are two thongs each way. Holes through the rim of the scoop are made for fastening the thongs. Some variety in detail is found in different specimens. The crosswise thongs are twisted up tight, so as to hold fast the lengthwise strand which passes through the twist perpendicularly.

The ball, *dagä^{n}'*, is made of buckskin stuffed with deer hair and contains a conjured object in the center. It is about two and one-half inches in diameter, the cover consisting of two round pieces of soft deerskin sewed together all around their edges. A specimen ball, when opened, proved to contain a core of red cloth which was itself sewed up in the form of a ball. The large ball, *dagä^{n}^{s}ä*, used in the football and handball game, is six inches in diameter and much softer than the small one. Several auxiliary lines of stitching are put on the opposite sides of the joining seam to take up whatever slack might result from violent usage.

The other tribes using two sticks in this game, in contrast to the one-stick game of the northern Plains and Algonkian tribes, are the Creek, Seminole, Cherokee, Choctaw, Chickasaw and Shawnee. The Choctaw seem to have carried the ball game to its highest athletic and ceremonial form.

Before the Yuchi begin a game, an address of encouragement and instruction is given by an old man of the Warrior society who has charge of the event. In one form of the game the sticks are laid on the ground in a pile and at a

signal the players scramble for them. At other times, time is taken up in conjuring the score-ground. An old man, a Warrior, marks a line on the ground near the ball field. He cuts small sticks to represent points or goals. Then he begins a harangue to the sticks and the mark, telling them to be fair and so on, pointing all the time at the different objects He names the sides on the line and the little score sticks. After this conjuration he takes the ball and, when the players are ready, being arranged in squads near their goals, tosses up the ball from the middle point between the goals. Then he runs to one side to escape the clash of the opponents. The players close in to catch the ball in their rackets and force it through their opponents' goal posts.

Strict care must be taken by the players not to allow the ball to be touched by their hands. This is about the only rule of the game, every sort of strategy and violence being allowed. When a player makes a goal he throws his body forward, elevates his elbows and gives the 'gobble' yell, a tremulous whoop also given as a scalp cry. This is a taunt.

From this point on the game is a wild struggle. The bystanders add to the confusion by shouting and yelling cries of encouragement, *gyā*, 'hurry up,' *kyē*, 'here,' and other directions intended to aid the players, just like white spectators. Wherever the ball is there is a pushing, shouting, yelling crowd of

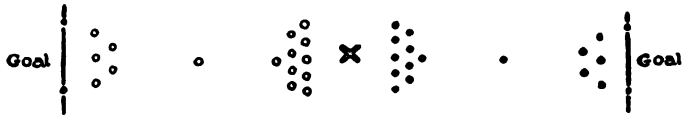

Fig. 34. Plan of Ball Field.

players trying to get it in their rackets. Those on the inside are fumbling and trying to prevent others from securing it, while those farthest away are pushing and hammering with their sticks to break a passage toward the center, until someone secures the ball and sends it up in the air over the heads of the crowd toward the opponents' goal if possible. Then someone else who has been waiting at a distance for just this occasion has time to seize the ball between his rackets and line it off for a goal before the crowd reaches him. He is lucky if he does not get clubbed by some angry opponent after this. If his throw falls short or misses the goal someone else has a chance to get it and make a throw. Or if the player who catches the ball is near the hostile goal he may try to run with the ball tightly gripped in his rackets. Then his success depends upon his speed, but his pace may be slackened by a blow from the racket of some one of his pursuers, whereupon he drops the ball and the crush closes in about him. Or he may circle off and by outrunning the rest succeed in carrying the ball through the goal posts, while everyone sets up a yell and the sides line up with suppressed excitement for another inning.

The line-up was observed as follows: according to the number of players a certain force was placed to guard the goal post on each side, while the majority were grouped on opposite sides of the center of the ground where the ball is tossed up. Thus there were two squads on each side. Between these squads few half-way men were stationed. The diagram, Fig. 34, shows a typical arrangement, the black dots representing one side, the circle their opponents. The cross X is where the ball is tossed up. As the games observed were between members of the two societies of the tribe, the players in the figure, indicated by circles and dots, represent respectively Chiefs and Warriors.

Goals obtained are marked by the score-keeper, by driving small sticks in the ground on the side of the line which has scored. The first side to score twenty goals wins. In this game men are often seriously injured and killed. It is stated that, in a game between the Yuchi and one of the Creek towns some years ago, four men were fatally injured. The photographs (Pl. XVI.) show groups of players at different stages of a game which took place in conclusion of the annual ceremony of 1905.

A similar game in which women may take part on both sides, or against men, is played with a large ball (Fig. 35), the bare hands alone being used. This is an informal and very amusing event. Played in another way the ball is kicked by men and women on opposite sides. This was called *dagʌⁿ tené*, 'ball kick.'

Fig. 35. Foot Ball.

Another game is called cow's head. A cow's head is elevated on a pole about twenty feet high, and men and women strive to hit it with a small ball, which the women throw with their hands and the men with ball sticks. Counts are as follows:

Hitting cow's head counts for men..... 1, for women... 5
" " horn " " "..... 1, " " ... 2
" two feet below head " "..... 1, " " ... 1

Played in another way, the women throw the ball, which was a large one in this case, while the men kick it. Twenty players were on each side. Betting was carried on with both of these games.

Like the prairie tribes, the Yuchi women also played a game with two balls connected by a thong. This they tossed by means of a simple straight stick. There was no goal, the object merely being to get the chain ball away from the opponent. The hoop and throwing stick game was also known to the Yuchi. Cat's cradles or string games are well known by children and adults. Four

or five of these string figures were seen. One of them, for instance, was called Crowfoot,[1] another resembled the common Jacob's Ladder,[2] while the others, extremely long and complex, could not be named. All of the figures were made by one person alone and the figures were brought out chiefly by manipulating the right hand. A common figure was similar to that known to white children under the name of 'sawing wood.'[3] Some of the string figures may have been learned from white people.

Horse racing, foot racing and trials of strength and endurance are greatly to the liking of the Indians. On such occasions they usually indulge freely in betting. Among other contests carried on by men is a form of wrestling. The first grasp is an elbow grasp, each man holding the other somewhere near the elbow and trying to throw him backwards by dexterous twisting or by combined strength and weight. The semiformal giving of presents to guests and friends is also a fairly common practice upon the occasion of the gatherings. The event is hardly to be called formal, as the giver simply offers tobacco to the person he wishes to honor and states aloud what he will give. The recipient is under no obligations to return the favor until some time has passed, when he is expected to return to the giver another and more valuable gift.

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[1] The finished pattern resembles "Leashing of Lochiel's Dogs" (cf. String Figures, by Caroline F. Jayne, New York, 1906, pp. 116, 120; also the Tanana "Raven's Feet") (ibid. p. 306, fig. 825); and the Cherokee "Crow's Feet" (cf. A. C. Haddon, American Anthropologist, Vol. V, No. 2, p. 217).

[2] This resembles an Osage figure recorded by Mrs. Jayne (cf. String Figures, p. 27, Fig. 50.)

[3] Cf. ibid. p. 357 Fig. 805.

CUSTOMS.

BIRTH.

Before child-birth takes place the prospective mother retires to a secluded temporary camp always east of the usual dwelling. Here she is attended by one or two old women relatives and her mother.

In order to facilitate delivery a decoction is made by placing a bullet in a cup of water, and the woman is given this to drink. During delivery she lies flat on her back on the floor or on the ground. Sometimes the family

Fig. 36. Objects Deposited With Navel Cord.

induces an old woman to come and help the woman in labor by sitting on her abdomen so that she can be held in her arms. As soon as the child is born it is washed, but no clothes are put on it until the fourth day, when it is named. The mother is allowed to partake of nourishment; the child, however, is not given suck until the fourth day. The taboos shortly to be described which devolve upon the father go into effect as soon as the child is born.

The fetal coverings are disposed of by inhumation. Care is taken to preserve the umbilical cord. In the case of a male child it is treated in the following manner: the father has prepared a small bow about eight inches long and strung with wound sinew, an imitation of the larger weapon. Four arrows, notched but unfeathered, with sharpened shafts, accompany the bow (Fig. 35, a). The arrows are then bound, together with the navel cord, at the center of the little bow, and the whole thing is thrown where the brush is very dense and where no one will see it. This is an invocation and prayer that the boy grow up to be a masterful handler of the bow both in hunting and in war.

In the case of a female child the cord is likewise preserved. It is carried to the great log mortar which stands in the space before every Yuchi house, and tucked snugly away beneath it in the earth at the base. The father then carves a small model of a mortar and pestle together with two different sized pot-stirrers (Fig. 36, b, c, d). These objects are preserved somewhere about the house or camp and represent a prayer that the girl may grow up to be proficient in all the arts of good housekeeping. When the father is informed that his child is a boy he is pleased, and the birth of a female child brings joy to the mother.

The Yuchi do not, as far as has been observed, practice the custom of making cradle boards for their infants as some of their neighbors do. On the contrary, a hammock of cloth or of strouding is constructed upon two ropes attached to trees, and separated by two cross pieces at head and foot to spread the opening at the top and admit air to the child. When the mother wishes to carry it, the infant is either slung in a shawl upon her back, or if strong enough, is made to straddle her hip with her arm about its waist for support. Some amulets are usually fastened about its neck to protect the child from sickness. While some of the southeastern tribes followed the custom of artificially flattening the frontal region of the skulls of infants,[1] considerable inquiry among the older Yuchi people failed to bring out any definite information on this point, so it seems likely that if this was ever done by them it has long been forgotten.

Upon the birth of a child into the family certain very strict taboos fall upon the father. From the day that the child is born he may do no work, nor sleep in his customary place in the house for the space of one month. He usually establishes himself in a camp near by. A strict dietary taboo also prevents him from tasting salt, sweet potatoes, pumpkins, melons and musk melons for the same period. The stigma of religious uncleanness which attaches to the wife during the season of child-birth and catamenia, is apparently shared by the husband. During the month of taboos he is not

[1] Cf. American Anthropologist (N. S.) vol. 9, No. 2, p. 294 (1907).

expected to mingle much with his companions in public places, and should he attempt to ignore his bounds, they would remind him of them by shunning him or casting blame and ridicule upon him.

The actions of the father are believed to exert some sort of influence upon the growth of the child during this tender period, before it is considered to have severed all the bonds which link it with the supernatural. The child is looked upon as the reincarnation of some ancestral spirit from the spirit world. Should the father violate the taboos not only he might suffer but the child itself would pay the penalty for his transgressions. As for the rest, the community at large thinks it best to have as little as possible to do with the couple who have thus come into communication with the supernatural, since no one can tell what evil consequences may follow. As surely as the father might suffer, if he transgressed, he would be the means of spreading abroad the contagion of evil. The religious significance of the taboo in this tribe will be treated more at length in the general discussion of religious beliefs.

To the father of a family fell the lot of instructing his boys in manly exercises and in the duties and privileges of whichever of the two societies he inherited prospective membership in. The mother on her part was responsible for the training up of her daughters in domestic duties.

Naming.

The fourth day after its birth is the all important day for the newly born child. It is then no longer a half-spirit, but a real human being and belongs to earth. Upon this day it is first given suck, and a name having been chosen by both mother and father, preparations are made to bestow it upon the infant. In regard to the choice of names there is a significant rule that a child shall take the name of some maternal grandparent's brother or sister according to sex. Thus names are transmitted in accordance to a maternal system of inheritance, and, although the clan of the individual is by no means illustrated in his name, as it is among the Creeks, Siouan, and Algonkian tribes, it is quite evident that the same names will descend through the same clan, occurring in alternate generations. Under this arrangement if all the names in a certain clan were a matter of general knowledge throughout the community, the custom would more nearly coincide with the above-mentioned groups where personal names indicate clanship. It is not uncommon, however, for children to be named directly after the totem. Although the percentage of such names is not high, they are still to be found. For example, we find *Sag^{e}ē' sīné*, 'Little Bear,' to be a member of the Bear clan. In some cases, I was informed, the ancestral name is not perpetuated in the child, but the parents may if they desire invent a new name connected with some peculiarity of the child or some incident attending its birth. The usual ceremony of naming on the

fourth day after birth, consists in fastening a string of white beads about the infant's neck in token of the occasion. These beads are worn continually until the child is able to walk about. In default of a string of beads a single white bead is often substituted.

The above facts regarding personal names are significant in another respect, and have something to do with the idea of reincarnation. When it is borne in mind that, in the journey of the departing soul, it requires four days to reach the land of the dead, there appears an evident connection between these four days and those that are allowed to pass before the newly born child is given its name.

The Yuchi believe that in naming a child after the ancestor it will exhibit the qualities of that ancestor, and it is frequent to hear a father remark how much his son is getting to be like his great uncle, and then proceed to eulogize the latter. The child spoken of will bear his name, often with the diminutive particle if the name is of European origin, as John, Little John. Judging by conversations that I have had with the Yuchi upon the matter of reincarnation, it seems that belief in the connection between the body and temperament of the child, and those of its maternal ancestor in the second past generation, undoubtedly exists in their minds.

Ceremonial or political position is not indicated in the name of an individual, so when such ranks are mentioned they are apart from the name. It is not known that names have been changed or multiplied, there does not seem to be any reluctance in the matter of mentioning the names of dead persons. In common use personal names are not very much heard. In fact, some people seem to be rather ashamed of them, and when questioned on the subject will refer to a bystander or some friend. Not infrequently a man when giving his name will whisper it. Particularly at the ceremonies men are addressed by their society titles, as *Bále*^{n}, Chief, or *Sä*^{n}*bá*, Warrior, *Goconé*, and so on. The characteristic features of names among the Yuchi are, in brief, that one name, supposedly indicating the reincarnation of a maternal antecedent two generations removed, is borne unvaried through life, and that nothing necessarily expressed in the name itself indicates clanship, or rank.

Following is a list of names with interpretations given by an interpreter, in some cases attainable by analysis, in others not. The interpretations lay no claim to accuracy, for many of the names themselves are regarded as archaisms.

Dasewi', ...Comes crossing.
Katané, ...Meet him.
Yalewi', ...Come back.
Gambesī'ne .....Little screw driver.
Aga^{n}*goné*.....Comes with someone (fem.).
Go'tá..... .....Shake with something.

Ka'ká .....White man.
Fago^{s}o^{n}wī'.....Comes out of the thicket.
Ekīlané.....It has left me.
Gopētcané .....Man who jumps over something.
Kūbá.....Creek Indian (literally, 'Looking up this way').
Dastana^{n}gī' .....For Creek, *Tastanа'gi*, warrior.
Kīlewī'.....Passing.
Gone^{s}ā'.....Big baby.
Gēgogané.....Sent back home.
Yástagolané.....Goes toward the fire (fem.).
Ga^{n}sīné.....Little baby (fem.).
Gobadane' .....Sheep (literally, 'fat leg').
Go^{s}ā'.....Big person (fem.).
Ya'tā^{s}go^{n}jé .....Gone ahead with someone (fem.).
Yáda po^{n}lé.....Under the bucket
Go^{n}lā^{n}tcīné .....Runs after him.
Djа^{n}*bo'*.....Crooked John.
Goyá^{s}ané.....Cuts up sticks (with an axe).
Djadjī sī'^{s}а^{n} .....Little George.
S^{s}até .....Touches the ground.
S^{s}agwané .....Takes him down.
Yúwagégo^{n}lā^{n}'.....
Sag^{s}ē' sīné .....Little Bear.

Marriage.

Marriage among the Yuchi is remarkably simple, being attended by no ceremony so far as could be learned. A young man having found a girl to his taste in various respects, decides to appropriate her. He meets her frequently and courts her. She leaves home at length of her own will and he builds a house for them. No exchange, so far as is known, is made, but it often happened that the man gave the girl's family a pony. Sometimes the man goes to live with his wife's parents until he is able to start for himself. The couple separates at will, but the children go with the mother. Should this occur, the man must never speak to her again under any circumstances, as it would lessen her chance with other men.

There is a restriction in regard to marriage, however, that is very strict. Each individual is a member of a certain totemic group, or clan, and marriage between members of the same clan is strictly tabooed as a form of incest. The clans, however, are all equal in this respect, as marriage may take place between any two.

As a rule, it may be added, married people, if such concubinage should be called marriage, are quite sympathetic with each other.

Polygamy was practiced in the past quite generally. A man could have as many wives as he could get and keep. His residence in such a case was his own, but each wife had her own property, the children she bore belonging to her and her clan. Unfaithful wives were punished by having their ears cut off.

Initiation.

Each boy at the time when he reaches the age of puberty is set off from his companions by certain rules of conduct. His period of initiation is brought to a culmination at the next annual ceremony performed by the tribe in the town square. During this event he, with other boys who are being initiated, has certain ceremonial offices to perform. When the ceremony is over his period of initiation is likewise over, and he is regarded as an adult, although a callow and inexperienced one. He is then in the right position to take a wife, have a voice in the town square, and receive appointment to some higher ceremonial office. Thereafter the people watch him to find some manifestation of ability in industrial, civil or military matters according to his bent. Henceforth the young man is under the guidance and protection of his clan totem, the initiation rites and adoption into the town having at the same time secured this for him. Initiation was, in brief, the formal admission of youths into the privileges of their hereditary society, and into the rank of responsible manhood in their clan and town.

Further mention will be made of the boys undergoing the last stages of their initiation term in the account of the annual ceremony, and again in the description of the public offices in the town, where they are known as *yatcigi'*.

Menstruation.

During the menstrual periods, the Yuchi woman is obliged to leave the common domicile, the company of her husband and family. Going away by herself she makes a shelter some distance from the camp, usually to the east of it. Here she remains for four days, having no part in the preparation of food for the household and taking no part in any household duties whatever. She may not even touch common property, striving to be seen as little as possible by friends or relatives. A very stringent taboo was that she should sleep apart from her husband. In fact, during this whole period of about four days an atmosphere of seclusion surrounds the near relatives, while the husband refrains from joining hunting parties or social gatherings with his friends, since it is understood that his company is not desired for the time. The reason given for this is that the woman is considered to be unclean and that objects or persons coming in touch with her acquire the same quality. The uncleanness referred to is a magic not a physical quality. It is thought that she becomes a mere involuntary agent of evil magic at this time.

While the woman is thus secluded food is brought to her by her mother in four small dishes, *yadadané* (Pl. III, Fig. 1), of unbaked clay, one being for sofkee, one for meat and the others for bread and coffee. These foods are left under a tree near at hand by the woman's mother, within easy reach. Before returning to her home the woman must wash herself and all garments concerned with her. The small dishes are destroyed. This is done to obliterate all possible channels through which the power of harm might flow from the unclean to clean objects.

Burial.

Beliefs.—The individual, according to Yuchi religious philosophy, possesses four spirits, *nᴀ"gˢā'*, one of which at death remains in the spot where disembodiment took place, while two others hover in the vicinity of the tribesfolk and relatives. The information in regard to these two, however, is rather vague. The fourth starts upon a four days' journey along the rainbow trail eastward to *yūbahē'*, 'far overhead,' the haven of souls. At the point where earth and sky meet, a great cloud is constantly rising and falling. Under this cloud all souls must pass and, should the passage be made in safety, *yūbahé* is subsequently attained. But many souls are crushed and lost forever, while some are obliged to return to earth again in failing, through fear, to pass the obstacle. Those spirits which remain on earth may be propitious or otherwise, but are generally held in fear. A general belief that the reincarnation of ancestors in the maternal line takes place in the birth of children has already been mentioned.

Rites.—Upon the death of an individual the observances practiced have a twofold function: they not only manifest the grief of the survivors but they are destined to prepare the soul elements for the last journey, the trial at the end of the earth, and future existence.

The mortuary customs of the Yuchi have undergone a change within the last two decades, a change from burial beneath the house floor to outdoor burial. The same may be said of their neighbors the Creeks. In former times the rites were as follows: as soon as death had been ascertained, public announcement of it was made by the assistant of the town chief, or second chief. Six shots were, and are today, fired from a rifle to apprise both the living and the dead of the event. In the winter of 1904 when Katána, Charles Big Pond, died ten shots were fired as an especial tribute, but this was not often rendered to ordinary men. The number fired for Chiefs and Warriors is the same. The body of the man is then washed by near relatives and laid on its back upon the floor. He is dressed in good clothes and his face is painted with the Chief or Warrior design according to his society. By this time the camp is informed and general lamentation follows. Anciently it was customary for

men to assemble on the ensuing morning and dig a grave directly in the center of the earth floor of the house. Both then and now boards were placed, or slabs of bark, at the bottom and around the sides of the pit, since no dirt must come in contact with the body. A package of tobacco and some money were inhumed at the same time. When burial was beneath the floor neither horse nor dog was slain over the spot, and the occupation of the house was not interrupted.

In most respects the same details in rite are followed out in the present day as in the past, but the modern rite differs in some particulars. A common burying ground is usually to be found near each point of settlement, so when a dead man has been properly attired and decorated he is carried thither and buried in the manner described before. The head is always placed to the west, causing the face to be directed toward the east, the direction in which the departing spirit journeys. Once, according to a last request, an old man was interred facing the west because, as he said, being a progressive man, disgusted with old conditions, he did not wish to travel the path of his ancestors.

A fire is built at the head of the pit and maintained for four days and nights to light up the path of the spirit. It probably has some symbolic reference to the sun also. Bread, meat, boiled corn and a bundle of clothes are laid beside the body, the food stuffs usually in an earthen bowl. The horse, or dog, or both, of the deceased were sometimes slain over the grave to serve their master, but this practice is obsolete.

When interment has been completed a volley of four rifles is discharged over the grave, as a final salute, and to clear the path for the soul, the shooters facing east. A structure composed of notched logs, or boards, in the form of a roof is erected over the spot, assumedly as a protection to the remains.

To rid the premises of the household from the possible presence of the wandering spirits, which are held in fear, a bucket is filled with cedar leaves and smudged about the house, on all sides and in the garden patch. This is done but once and considered effectual. On the morning of the fourth day, a shaman prepares a feast in the house of the dead. Its doors are thrown open and all comers are made welcome at the spread. This feast celebrates the supposed safe arrival of the spirit in the upper world.

Sickness, in the shape of rheumatic pains, is believed to fall upon any person who becomes soiled with dirt from a newly dug grave. The vicinity of a burying ground is commonly avoided as the wandering spirits are thought to abound there. Names of dead persons are not tabooed. Graves, nowadays, are not visited much or kept in repair. Lastly, there is said to be a slight difference between the mortuary rites practiced for the Chief society and those practiced for the Warrior society. The Yuchi do not seem to have special clan rites at death.

Miscellaneous Customs.

Smoking.—Tobacco, *ī*, has always been raised quite extensively by each family for smoking and for ceremonial use.

For ordinary use it has been customary to mix sumac leaves with the tobacco in varying proportions. Both men and women smoke for pleasure. It should be recalled[1] that a somewhat irregular polish was given to pipe bowls by rubbing them when wet with a piece of smooth stone. The pipe forms sometimes resemble frogs. These symbolize the frog which a supernatural being named Wind used as a pipe bowl in the mythical age. The pipe stems also symbolize a snake, which he used as his pipe stem, his tobacco being snake dung. The myth referred to will be given at the end of this paper.

Smoking is called 'tobacco drink.' Men, women and even small children practice it, though they are not by any means incessant smokers. When they do smoke, however, it is done rather vigorously with much inhaling. People smoke more in winter than in summer. Formerly, each man carried his smoking articles with him in a pouch hanging at his side.

Ceremonial smoking used to be a common observance. It added a tone of sincerity to any communications between people. Strangers were welcomed with a quiet, friendly smoke, and any matters which required deliberation, whether private or public, were thought over for a time while all were engaged in smoking. In the town square, when meetings took place, each member of the town who was present produced his pipe and tobacco while an official of the Chief society passed around among the lodges furnishing everyone with a light. Sometimes the official lighted a pipe and passed it around for each man to take a puff from it. It was believed that if one smoked while deliberating in sincerity over a question and, at the same time, entertained malice or insincerity toward it in his mind he would die. In the same way it was thought that anyone suspected of mischief or evil intentions could be detected by a challenge to smoke with the accuser. In fact it was evidently regarded as an oath and an ordeal to test veracity or guilt. The following, mentioned in one of the myths, shows the power of tobacco smoke in a case of wrong-doing.

"Now the owner of the house was an evil man. He was Iron Man. Wind knew all about that and he even knew that Iron Man had killed his four sons. Then Wind decided to kill him. When he smoked he drew in a great deal of smoke and blew it on Iron Man. And that is the way he killed him."

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[1] See page 30.

The Yuchi take their rest at night in a very irregular way, getting up at all hours for the purpose of talking, singing, gambling, or inspecting their horses, when in camp. Nightly debauchery is common; when intoxicants abound undisturbed rest is unknown in the camps. No one attempts to remedy these faults by means of persuasion or force, except the wife of the disturber. Women have a good deal of power of this sort and, although seemingly very submissive and passive, their advice is often asked in matters of decision, while the men are patient in listening to rebukes from them. In public, women must remain in the background when their men are present. They never engage in conversation with other men in the presence of their husbands who must be spokesmen when outside communication is necessary.

Children in crawling often rest on the hands and on the soles of their feet, instead of their knees. In climbing, the men press the soles of the feet to the bark and hug the tree with the arms, raising both feet for a new grip. Boys of five or six years and upward are allowed to smoke tobacco as much as they choose. Women carry children astride the hip. Children spend much time in building mounds of dirt and playing with sticks and stones in sand or mud. Little girls have dolls of rags and deerskin which they play with.

Both men and women are, for Indians, decidedly cleanly in personal habits. Their clothes are kept carefully clean and neat. They frequently wash. To keep the teeth clean a piece of willow stick is chewed on the end until it is shredded and pulpy. This is chewed and rubbed across the teeth to remove accretions, while the sap forms a kind of suds.

Children are seldom punished for any mischief that they do. They are never whipped. If, however, it is thought necessary to give them a reminder in the shape of chastisement, a vessel of water is thrown over them.

It was not very common in the past for a girl to grow up and not be married, so there were few unmarried women. Such women, however, usually lived with different men merely as concubines, staying for a while with one, then going to live with another.

As far back as can be remembered, it was the custom for men when they met to shake hands and to offer each other some tobacco.

Old people were not ill treated. On the contrary, they were respected and served by their children. It is understood that old men are to be cared for by their sons the same today as formerly.

In regard to the temperament of the Yuchi, it seems that they were, and are today, inclined to be mild and quiet mannered. They prefer to avoid quarrels, only when they become suspicious showing a tendency to grow sullen. I think, on the whole, if there is any value in such a statement at all, that anyone accustomed to the appearance of Indians in general, would find in the Yuchi a noticeably open, pleasant, and kind expression of the face.

The Yuchi, like most Indians, are by no means apathetic in temperament. They exhibit a lively interest in their surroundings, are fairly quick in grasp-

ing ideas, and in learning new things. They show an interest, too, in the customs of their neighbors, commenting not a little on what they observe. Like good gossips, they take good care of their own and their neighbors' private affairs.

The telling of myths and tales is a favorite idle hour pastime in the camps. There do not seem to be any restrictions as to place or time of year, for I have heard them narrating myths both in summer and winter, day and night. Good narrators of stories are generally respected and looked up to by the people. They have a few peculiar mannerisms, making frequent use of pantomimic and descriptive gestures. Mention of the sun is invariably accompanied by pointing upward with the index finger. At the beginning of narratives, stereotyped phrases are commonly used, such as, "In the olden (mythical) times ....", "The old people tell it....," "It is said that ...." and others similar. Often the tale starts in abruptly with the mention of the two chief characters, while the first few sentences point out what is to follow, like a preface. The narrative is liberally punctuated with the phrase "so they said " which takes the place of the quotative and also serves as a rhetorical pause period. The narrator always closes his account with "This is the end," "Now (then)," "Here it ends," "This is enough" or similar concluding phrases. Some short statement entirely irrelevant to the tale itself, but spoken in the same tone and without much of a break, may be appended, such as, "My name is Joseph," "I am your friend," "I am only a young man in wisdom, but I have told what I heard," "Give me some tobacco," "It is late," "The day is a bad one." The Yuchi audience is a quiet one, usually waiting until the end of a story before expressing comment. They often interrupt, however, with laughter or with "*ho ho!*", as a sign of assent.

These Indians have a few exclamatory expressions which are used in various circumstances. An expression of sudden anger, known also among the neighboring Creeks, is *áyīlà!!* The men give vent to disbelief or contempt of what another is saying by exclaiming *gū! gū'!!*; the women, by exclaiming in a high voice, *hī hᴀⁿ!* A surd sound, *tck tck tck*, is a signal to frighten small children when they are up to mischief. Dogs know this signal too. It stands for "stop!" Another explosive expression, *cī!!* is commonly used to frighten dogs, but is not for persons. A signal of warning or caution, also common, is given by hissing between the tongue-tip and the base of the teeth. This means "be on your guard," "look out," "watch your chance," etc. Dogs are called by a few sharp inspiratory whistles.

The numeral system in Yuchi is a decimal one. The numbers up to ten do not yield to analysis. From ten to twenty, however, the expression is, "ten, one coming on," "ten, two coming on," etc. Twenty is literally "man (or leg) two;" thirty, "man (or leg) three," etc. One hundred is "finger-nail one," and one thousand is nowadays rendered as "finger-nail long one," or "one hundred long."

RELIGION.

Religious Beliefs and Folk-Lore.

In treating other subjects frequent mention has been made, heretofore, of various religious beliefs connected with different phases of life, of the ideas which the Yuchi hold regarding the supernatural realm, and how they maintain their relations with the latter by means of rites and ceremonies. An attempt will now be made to give as many of these beliefs as could be gotten in order to present as clearly as possible an idea of the religious life of the tribe.

In the earliest mythological time about which anything at all is known, there existed only a certain realm of water and air called *yūbahé*, 'in the far heights.' This expanse was boundless and flat. It was inhabited by beings who lived in the water and beings who lived in the air. Just what their form was is not known for all, but some of those that are mentioned have animal names and show animal characteristics, such as Crawfish, Buzzard, Panther, Spider, etc. In other respects, however, they behaved much like human beings. That many mythical animals are conceived of as human in form is indicated by the use of the particle *go*, 'human,' with their names. Others, from what we are told, who bore the names of various natural objects had animal forms too. Among these, for instance, are Sun, and Moon. It would seem, apparently, that the interest of the people in the various animals had determined the form of their deity concepts.

Others who are mentioned only by name may have been anthropomorphic. Some of these, for instance, are Sun, *Tsō*, Wind, *Wīdá*, Old Woman, *Wä"hané*, Old Man, *Gohané*, Iron or Metal Man, *Gohä"toné*, *Gyät hä'*, the cardinal points, the four winds and others who seem not to be unlike ordinary human beings, both in their ideas and in some of their doings. The supreme deity idea, however, seems to be centered in *Tsō*, 'Sun,' who is known, as far as could be ascertained, under some different names, among them 'The One who is Breath,'[1] and 'Makes Indians' being frequent. These beings, some of them, had wives and children; they gamed, traveled about on the hunt, procreated, evidently made war and had gatherings where certain peculiar acts, which we might call rites, were performed. In short, from what we know of this mythical period of the supernatural beings, their life was much like that which the Indians lead, except that death was non-existent. There were evidently chiefs among these beings who, in a general way, might be regarded

[1] Comparable in sense to the Creek supreme deity and creator, Hisákidamīssī, 'Master of Breath.'

as central figures in mythology, but no one being in particular is mentioned as such. In one connection Sun is evidently chief, in another *Gohä"toné*, though the matter is not at all clear.

The social gatherings of these beings should be mentioned again, on account of the fact that what was done at such times by the supernatural beings was afterward taught to human beings by Sun, when the present earth and people were created, and in a way, was dramatized as an act of worship by the Indians. It seems that the beings used to assemble at the Rainbow, *yū^{s}ä'*, and enact various peculiar rites. One of these performances was to scratch the people on the arm or breast with a certain instrument. This act will be referred to again subsequently. The beings evidently had dances too upon their Rainbow assembly ground.

After a time, it appears that some reason for change took possession of the supernatural beings. They decided to make another realm, an earth. According to the account, Crawfish dove to the bottom of the waters and brought up some dirt from which the earth was made and from which it grew to its present size. The various beings then took part in modifying the form of the earth, and in making improvements on it. Light of the proper sort was finally secured, after various attempts on the part of different beings, as well as darkness of the right intensity. The beings all seem to have been extremely active and powerful at this time, for they did various things to each other which left permanent marks upon them, which their descendants who still reside upon the earth retain. For instance, the chipmunk wanted to have night brought upon the earth, thus angering the panther, who jumped on the chipmunk and scratched his back. The chipmunk accordingly bears on his back to this day the marks of the scars he received. This example is taken simply to show a typical case of animal exploits in what might be termed the genesis period.

The following is a translation of the myth of the origin of the earth:

1. The Origin of the Earth.

"Water covered the face of the earth. Beneath the water they knew there was land, but they knew of no one who could get it. The flying creatures of the air were baffled. But they decided to get something to help them find it. The swimming creatures in the waters did not believe it could be done, because they knew the land was too far down. So they doubted.

Now the Crawfish was the one who claimed that he could find land. He told them to give him time. He told them to look for him in four days. Then he went down, and soon the water came up colored with mud. Everyone knew that before he had started the water had been clear. For four days they waited; on the fourth day the Crawfish came up. He was nearly dead when they picked him up, but in his claws they saw there was some earth. They

carefully picked it out. Then they made it round like a ball, but it looked very small. Now one of the great birds had long claws, and when that bird lifted up his leg, they threw the ball of earth at him. And when it struck him, the ball splashed and spread out, but it was very thin. That is where the earth was made in the beginning.

Now all the creatures wanted to walk on it, but they gave instructions that no one should walk on it yet. For four days it lay thus, growing larger and larger. Now they wanted to have it level. So they called for someone. The Buzzard answered and said that he would go over the earth and stretch his wings. That is the way he would make it level. The Buzzard started, when they agreed to it, but he had not gone far before he became tired of stretching his wings so much. He began to flutter and waver a great deal. On account of this the Buzzard could not level it all. And that is what made the mountain ridges. Now the earth was made and they occupied it."

I also give the account of the creation of light and darkness, to furnish details for the generalized discussion.

2. Origin of Light, Sun, Moon and Stars.

"And everywhere was darkness. The earth had been made, but there was no light. The different animals gathered together. They appointed a day for deliberation, to decide who should furnish light for the newly made earth. The Panther was the first. They appointed him to give light because he runs backward and forward in the heavens from one end to the other. They instructed him to go east and come back. So he ran to the east and turned, crossed the heavens and went down in the west. When he had done this and returned to the gathering he asked if it was all right. They told him it was not. Then they appointed another. They sent the Star (spider). Now they told the Star to go east and come back. The Star did as he was told. He made a light in the east but it was too dim. He went west and then came back to the gathering and asked them if it was all right. Then they told him, '"No. Your light is too dim."' So they appointed another. They appointed the Moon. They told the Moon to go east then come back through the sky and go down in the west. The Moon started out as they directed. When it was coming back it made a better light than that made by the Star, but it was not enough. Then the Moon asked if it would do. They said it would not. Then they appointed another. They chose the Sun, and told him what to do. When the Sun came back westward it gave a good light, and when it went down it was all right. So the Sun was appointed to light the earth, and he gave an everlasting light.

Now when they told him about it, the Chipmunk wanted to have some night. He said to them:

'"If it is daylight all the time, persons could not increase."' He said, '"If there is night, then people can rest from their work and procreate."'

So he urged in favor of night. They agreed with him in part, because they saw that what he said was true. And night came in, dividing up the day. Then when it was dark it was so dark that persons could not see to travel or to procreate. And they saw it would not do because creatures would not increase. So they put the Stars (spiders) and the Moon in with the night to enable people to see enough for those things, and it was all right. Thus the Chipmunk had made the night on the strength of his own senses, and they agreed and allowed it to remain.

When they said that, the Panther became angry and jumped upon the Chipmunk and caught him. He caught him by the neck and scratched him on the back. That is what made the red stripes on the Chipmunk's back, which he has yet. So the earth was lighted by the sun, moon and stars, and night came in too."

At some time not far removed from this mythical stage, the event of the creation of man took place. Whether this was during or after the creation of the earth is not known. At any rate, as explained in the myth, a woman in a vague way became the mother of a boy, who originated from a drop of her menstrual blood. This boy she carried to the Rainbow where the beings were gathered, and he was scratched by them as was customary. After several exciting events had taken place, which are not well understood, it seems that the mother was driven away with her boy. The inference is that the mother and son then fell from the sky to the earth. Henceforth he was called Sun, *Tsō*, and became the ancestor of a new race upon the new earth. In this way originated the human beings who called themselves *Tso'yahá*, 'Offspring of the Sun.' Then Sun taught his people certain ceremonies, which were to be performed to protect them from evil influences, and to honor the supernatural beings of the realm over the earth. He gave them two plants, *fᵉâdē'*, button snake root (Eryngium yuccaefolium) and, *to tcála*, 'red root' (Salix tristis (?)), which they were to steep and drink during the ceremony, to purify them. He instructed them in the scratching rite, which he had undergone, and instituted the practice, at the same time, of distributing new and sacred fire once a year at the occasion of the ceremonies, among the different human households. Sun then enjoined the people to keep up the dances and rites he had taught them, saying that once a year he would soar through the heavens over them and look down to see if they were obeying. He conditioned their prosperity upon their obedience and left them after giving other instructions regarding ceremonial details and features of town life. Among other things he showed them how to make an assembly ground like the one in the supernatural world and taught them how to decorate this to symbolize the Rainbow. As there are some details

in this assembly ground, or town square with its symbolism, which deserve attention, it will be taken up later on. The ceremonies which were begun on earth at this time will be also described under a special heading.

It should be mentioned here that at certain times since the origin there have been born individuals with a very dark shade of skin. These black-skinned Yuchi, as they are termed, are looked upon as being more closely related to Sun than the rest of the people. They are said to be his direct offspring, their mothers having become pregnant by Sun. As no particular rank is given them, however, their position is a sort of empty aristocracy. Several black-skinned Yuchi are said to be living today, but I have not been fortunate enough to see them.

Here are several translations of variants of the origin myth which has just received comment.

3. The Origin of the Yuchi and the Ceremonies.

"The Sun deity was in her menstrual courses. She went to dip up some water (up in the sky world). She went down to the creek. Then some blood fell on the ground. She looked at the water. When she reached the top of the hill she set it down. She thought that something had happened. She went down the hill again. A small baby was sitting there. She took it along with her and kept it. She raised it and it grew. That was an Indian. She took him to the Rainbow where the others were and he was scratched and it was the ceremony at the square-ground. In the ancient time he was scratched. The drops of blood fell and lay on the ground. She placed him on the ground. The drops of blood were lying on the ground. She put him on the ground. Then she walked away from the square-ground with him, going toward the east. She reached the edge of the square. Indians came along following them. The lightning struck and frightened them. It drove them back. The Sun mother went on home with the boy. Then he went to sleep. As he grew up he became lonesome. He had no one to play with; he had no one to look at. He was lonesome. While he was sleeping and lying there, his mother pulled out one of his ribs. While he was lying there she took it out. She made a woman out of it. Then the boy awoke. He saw her. He was glad now. Then they multiplied and increased in numbers.

The Red root (*to tcālá*) and Button Snake root (*fᵉâdē'*) standing near, (which had been used when the boy was scratched and made to perform the ceremony among the sky people), she told him to use. It was made for that use. And the Yuchi are using it yet just as he told them. It is here yet. This is his medicine. While they try to keep up the ceremony and use of the medicines God (*wētânᴀ'*) goes with the people. Her son was the child of the Sun, that is what the Yuchi are named, Children of the Sun.

On that day no trouble comes to the people when they have taken the medicines. When the Sun comes up he looks down to see if they are doing the ceremonies. If he comes up high here and sees no Indians performing the ceremonies on the earth at high noon, he would stop. He would cry. It would be the end of peacefulness. The Sun would cover his face with his hands and go down again in the east. Then it would become dark and the end. It has been declared so. This is what we heard in the past."

4. Origin of the Yuchi. (Second Version.)

"There was a Sun and there was a Moon. Then the Moon was in her menstrual courses. When she got up, a drop of the blood fell from her and descended to the earth. The Sun saw it. He secured it and wrapped it up, laying it away thus for four days. On the fourth day he went and got it, and unwrapped it. When the bundle was opened, he saw that it had turned into a human being. Then he said:

'"You are my son. You shall be called *Tsōyahá.*"' And he gave him the name *Tsōyahá*, Sun people or Offspring of the Sun. From him all the Yuchi had their origin.

Now his descendants increased until they became a powerful people. They are weakening now, but if they ever disappear from the earth a terrible thing will happen. For the Sun said:

'"If the Yuchi perish, I will not face this world. I will turn my face away, and there will be darkness upon the earth, and it will even be the last of the earth."'

So it will come to pass if all the Yuchi die out. But now there are certain Yuchi who are known to be sons of this Sun. Whenever one of them dies the Sun turns his face away from the earth for a little while. That accounts for the eclipse. These Yuchi may be known by the color of their skin, which is nearly black. The black-skinned Yuchi are the Sun's sons. There are a few living now."

In tracing this mythical history of the Yuchi we have now reached the period when human beings and the other animals seem to have been on close terms of intimacy on the earth. Everywhere magic was in operation. Animals often acted in a most offhand manner, from that moment the act becoming a rule on earth, or the result of the act becoming a natural fixity. Some specimen accounts will be given later.

A trickster appears among the animal beings by the name of Rabbit. There are other tricksters too, but Rabbit is the chief figure among them. This period is thought, roughly speaking, to have directly preceded the present one. There are many myths relating the deeds of animals and human beings which are concerned with magic. The details of the magical transformations and

exploits of the earthly beings are a little too extensive to discuss here, but will be found further on under mythology.

Toward the end of this period, in short, the things of the earth and the affairs of human beings take on a more modern aspect. Many new things are originated. Death is brought to man by the disobedience of someone. Tobacco is originated from human semen. Other Indian tribes are brought into existence. Fire is secured and distributed among the people by Rabbit, and various other cultural features of human life, as well as characteristic traits among animals, are brought into existence. Some representatives of this class of myths will be given at the end of the discussion of mythology.

Up to this point we have only attempted to deal with the beliefs concerned with the supernatural beings, and with the native concepts of origin and transformation. Some of the beliefs in connection with customs and rites will now be taken up. It has already been stated, under customs, that the newly born child is believed to be the reincarnation of its predecessors. And it was shown, at the same time, that the reincarnated spirits revived in the children the qualities which they possessed during their lives. The abode of the spirits of the dead is in the sky world or the supernatural world. The path to this lies over the rainbow, and the direction to be traveled is eastward. When the soul has passed the obstacle of the swaying cloud, which is likely to crush the journeying soul and destroy it, it joins with the other spirits and supernatural beings inhabiting this realm. One of the supernatural beings, *Wä"hané*, Old Woman, has charge over the souls here and in some way is thought to control re-birth and the return of souls to earth. There is mention in one of the myths of some men who traveled to Old Woman and at last succeeded in obtaining the souls of their dead wives, returning to earth with them. It has also been shown how the different individuals of the clans inherited the protection of their clan totems, when they passed the initiation rites, thenceforth retaining these as protectors through life. As the members of clans are considered to be the descendants of their totemic animal, they are in a sense the cousins, as it might be expressed, of the earthly animals who are also descendants of the supernatural animals. The clan taboos and incidental beliefs need not be repeated again here as they have been mentioned in dealing with customs and the clans. But the animals of the earth, in general, are considered as thinking beings, with interests in life, customs and feelings not unlike those of men. Even today these mutual elements in the lives of men and animals are felt to exist. But naturally in the mythical age the two were more nearly on the same level than now. For, they say, it is very seldom nowadays that men and animals can converse together. A few random tales referring to such instances of recent intercommunication, however, are as follows.

An old and decrepit Indian told the story. He was complaining about his infirmities, squeaking voice, and shrunken form. He said, "I was going

along on my pony late in the afternoon. Pretty soon I came to what was like a large rock. I heard a voice from somewhere say, " 'It smells just as though there was an old woman riding around here.' " I looked up and saw a big rattlesnake sitting on the rock, coiled. His neck was as thick as a man's neck. He was looking right at *me.*"

An outlaw, who was hiding from the vengeance of the relatives of the man whom he had murdered, became very hungry. He rode up to a house and was going to ask for food. First he crept through a cornfield near the cabin, to see if the way was safe. While lying between the furrows there, he heard two hens talking. They were casting glances at him. He listened to what they were saying. They chuckled a little, then one said, "Isn't that the fellow who is scouting around here for having killed somebody?" The outlaw got out.

The animals are all believed to have their protecting supernatural kinsmen as well as men, for that reason in hunting them their protecting spirits have to be overcome before one can hope to bring them down. It is the same with human beings. If one's guardian spirit is all right no harm can come. So in warfare, the idea is to strengthen one's own guardian kinsman spirit and to weaken the enemy's. In this respect hunting and fishing are much like warfare. The magic songs and formulas fight the supernatural struggle and open the way, while the actual weapons do the work when the spiritual barriers are removed.

As regards the objects in nature in general which surround them, the Yuchi have the usual animistic concepts so characteristic of the beliefs of nearly all primitive people. Inanimate objects, and even abstract ideas such as cardinal points and various feelings and deeds, are the abodes of agencies which we may call spirits. These may be either favorable or unfavorable to men, their influence being believed to be largely controlled by man's personal conduct in the observance of taboos and in the performance of the rituals and ceremonies. Plant spirits are highly powerful and important, according to the ideas of an agricultural people like this, and we shall find them to be quite prominent objects of worship in the ceremonies.

The sacred number standing out prominently in religious matters will be seen to be the number four. Five appears less frequently.

FOLKLORE.—Here are a few miscellaneous beliefs which were recorded in regard to the natural, supernatural, and animal world. They are given about as they were told by the Indians.

"If a terrapin in his travels walks around a big tree it is a very bad thing for him. He will dry up. That's why they never do it."

"The thunder or rain kills snakes. When a storm comes up they must all go back into the ground. If they do not, they will be killed. So if they are killing a calf (sic!) or anything, they must leave it as soon as it begins to thunder or rain."

"When wild turkeys gobble the lightning bugs come up out of their crops. They are like little white things (maggots) before they come out."

The stars are all spiders.

Regarding the eclipse they say:—"The toad starts to eat up the moon. Then he gets big. The moon diminishes. But we frighten him away and after that the moon recovers and gets big."

One informant stated that thunder and lightning are caused by a great black snake with rattles on its tail. A being named *Ko"sá no"wī'*, the meaning of which is uncertain, rides on its back. The snake dives in and out of the water. At each flash of its wet sides there is lightning and when it rattles there is thunder.

"There was a big water vessel in the sky. Someone jerked it and spilled the water over its edge. That is what made the rain."

"Someone (a supernatural agency) in the north was trying to do something. He put some corn meal into a sifting basket and sprinkled it through. When this falls upon this earth it is snow."

"When the rainbow stretches across the sky the rain is prevented from falling through. This stops the rain and brings dry weather."

When threatened with a drought they believe that the people could cause rain to fall if they made medicine and took an emetic.

Earthquakes are believed to be caused by a being who lives in the bowels of the earth. He sometimes shakes and jerks the earth to find out how much water there remains on it.

Twins and deformed or abnormal children are believed to be sent directly by the supernatural beings to be guides to the people. They were never killed but were treated with care and raised for the public good. It is also said that when twins are born in the town it is a sign from the supernatural beings that they want to see the people improve in the performance of their religious rites.

Little people like dwarfs are believed to inhabit certain places in the dense woods. They are the souls of bad people who die, and they possess the power of killing those who either accidentally or deliberately intrude upon their haunts.

When a man sneezes, the belief is that his beloved is thinking about him. Likewise when a woman sneezes it is a sign that her lover is thinking about her.

Warts on the skin, or moles, indicate that there is too much blood or bad blood in the body. A person having them is said to need scratching until the blood flows. Moles come from bad food, too.

"When the coyotes or wolves howl it is a sign that snow or rain is coming. They can feel when a storm is approaching, and because they don't like it they start howling."

A certain kind of fish called "drumfish" is believed to have two stones in the back of its head, with which it makes a thumping noise frequently heard coming from the water when everything is quiet.

The Symbolism of the Town Square.

We shall now return again to the subject of the town square because the religious ceremonies to be described in the following pages are inseparably connected with it.

The public square-ground, where all civil and religious events of the town take place, has a symbolical significance which is quite important, and comparable in some respects to the altars and shrines of the southwestern and plains tribes.

In its ceremonial aspect the town square is symbolically a rainbow. For, according to the myth of the origin of the Yuchi and their cult, as already given, the mother of the Sun took him to the ceremony of the upper world where he was scratched. This took place on the Rainbow, *yū^{ɛ}ä′*, so the present square-ground is called '*yū^{ɛ}ä′*,' 'rainbow.'

The officials at the ceremonies are hence called *yū^{ɛ}ähobáłe^{n}*, 'rainbow or square-ground Chief' and *yū^{ɛ}ähosa^{n}′ba*, 'rainbow or square-ground Warrior.' The square might well be termed a rainbow shrine. Another name for the square is *sä^{n}sä^{n}′*, 'thoroughly beautiful' or 'good all over.'

While investigations were being made in regard to the square-ground, the assistant of the town chief brought in a colored representation of it showing how the square looked when it was formally arranged for the ceremonies. This sketch is reproduced in Plate XI. The explanation of the colors is as follows: The whole figure represents the rainbow. The brown square represents the earth. The fire in the center typifies the sun and is painted red. The ashes are represented by yellow. The three yellow lines are paths to the north, west and south lodges respectively, are likewise composed of ashes scattered by the four *yätcigī′* after the new fire has been started on the first day of the rites. This feature is now obsolete. The logs of the new fire are green, symbolizing vegetation. The brush roofs of the lodges are also green.

It will be noticed that the Warrior lodges, north and south side, have their uprights and beams colored red. This color symbolizes the Warrior class and war which they represent. The custom of coloring the posts is also now obsolete. The Chief lodge lacks this coloring. As will be seen in the photographs of the ceremonies (Plate XII, *et seq.*), a white face is given to these upright posts in modern times, by peeling off part of the outer bark and exposing the white inner surface. White is symbolical of peace.

The serpent figure lying before the north Warrior lodge is the *dätō^{ɛ}ä′*, a supernatural horned serpent, and the object of veneration in the *Dätō^{ɛ}ä′ ctī*, now called Big Turtle Dance. This stuffed deerskin effigy was colored blue, with two yellow horns on its head. It rested in former times before the north Warrior lodge where the two Warrior officials, *goconé* and *yu^{ɛ}ähosä^{n}′ba*, sat with their feet upon it, but its use has been abandoned.

Something should be said here of the other meaning of the word *yū^{ɛ}ä′*. Besides meaning rainbow, it stands for 'big house.' This we find to be the

name given by the neighboring Creek Indians to their town square (*djógo łákko*, big house).[1]

If any credence is to be given to the statements of the Yuchi in this matter, the Creeks borrowed nearly the whole of the annual ceremonies of the Yuchi when they overran the Southeast, subduing and incorporating the latter. The modern Creeks, however, although recognizing the general similarity between their ceremonies and those of the Yuchi, do not subscribe to this opinion but claim an independent supernatural source for them.

Ceremonies.

The ceremonies, which according to tradition originated in the other world and were taught to the first Indians by Sun, consist of various religious rites performed in public by all the men of the town once a year. The rites include dancing, fasting, the observance of certain taboos, the kindling of a new and sacred fire, the scarification of men, the taking of an emetic and the performance of the ball game. The ceremony as a whole was called, *Yū°āhē'*, 'In the rainbow,' or 'In the big house.' The time for these ceremonies is determined by the state of maturity of the corn crop. They are begun so as to coincide with its first ripening, usually about the middle or early part of July. It would seem from this that the importance of agriculture as a feature of life had determined the time for the town's discharge of its religious obligations. As far as is possible the time is also arranged so as to fall upon nights when the moon is full. This matter rests entirely in the hands of the town chief. He distributes bundles of tally sticks, one to be thrown away each day (Fig. 37), to the heads of families.

Dances.—The special dances, *ctī*, performed by the Yuchi are quite numerous. A fairly large number are primarily clan dances, having for their object the placation of clan totems. The dancers imitate the motions of the totemic animal with their bodies and arms. The steps, however, are not subject to much variation. The dancer inclines his body forward, gesticulating with his arms according to the occasion, and raises first one foot then the other slightly above the ground, bringing them down flat at each step with vigor. In this way the dancers in single file circle contra-clockwise about the fire in the center of the square. The whole is done in a sort of run, the acoustic effect being a regularly timed stamping sound. The dances are accompanied by singing on the part of all the men dancing, and by musical instruments of several different varieties, namely, terrapin shell rattles (Pl. VII), drum (Fig. 32) and hand rattle (Pl. VII). Both the music and the instruments have been briefly described before. A few other ceremonial paraphernalia used particularly in

[1] Cf. the Creek Indians of Taskigi Town, Speck, in Memoirs of American Anthropological Association, Vol. II, part 2, p. 112.

the dances will be described soon. As a rule all men may take part in any dance. But in most of the dances only certain women are admitted from the beginning and they are provided with the bunch of terrapin shell rattles, *tsontá*, (Pl. VII) which are fastened to their legs. During the last half of the dance, however, the exclusive feeling leaves, and women, children and even strangers may join in. It is understood, though, that when a certain dance is being performed, for instance the Tortoise dance, the members of that clan are in the position of hosts to the others, taking pride in having them dance the dance to their totem.

The dance songs consist chiefly in the repetition of meaningless syllables or groups of syllables. A great deal of magic potency is believed to rest in mere words and burdens. Sometimes, however, an intelligible stanza or sentence appears having some vague reference to the object of the dance, or simply naming it. The feeling of the dancers seems to be that they are for the time in the actual form of the totem, and they carry out in quite a realistic way the effect of the imitation entirely by their motions and behavior. No imitative costumes nor masks are used now, nor could it be ascertained whether they ever existed. They imitate very well, however, the cries of the animals which are being dramatized.

Besides those dances which are functionally clan dances, there are others which are addressed, as a form of worship and placation, to various animals which furnish their flesh or parts for the use of man. Then there are also others which are directed to the spirits of animals which have the power of inflicting sickness, trouble or death upon the people. These are imitative, similar in general appearance to those already described. The spirits dominating certain inanimate objects are invoked in others.

Lastly, we find a miscellaneous few which are claimed to be chiefly danced for pleasure. There has no doubt been considerable borrowing going on among the Indians and local interpretations may have been given to various dances different from their original ones.

Most of the dances are performed at night, thus filling in the time of the ceremonies with constant activity.

A list of these special dances, and the instruments used in them, is here given.

Dance.		Musical Instrument.
Ba'tă' ctī	Horse dance	Rattle, drum.
Wedīnéⁿ ctī	Cow "	?
Wedīngá ctī	Buffalo "	Rattle, drum.
Dătoˢă'	Turtle "	Rattle.
Cū cpá ctī	Pike "	Rattle, drum.
Cū djˢá ctī	Catfish "	Rattle, drum.
Spăⁿsī' ctī	Quail "	Rattle.

	Dance.		Musical Instrument.
Wētc^{s}ä' ctī	Turkey	dance	?
Kyä^{n}' ctī	Owl	"	Rattle.
Yᴀ^{n}tī' ctī	Buzzard	"	Rattle, drum.
Wētc^{s}ä' ctī	Chicken	"	Rattle, drum.
Cäne' ctī	Duck	"	Rattle, drum.
S^{s}ołä^{n}' ctī	Lizard	"	Rattle.
Wētsakowᴀ^{n}' ctī	Opossum	"	?
Djätiᴀ^{n}' ctī	Raccoon	"	Rattle, drum.
Yūsᴀ^{n}' ctī	Skunk	"	?
Yät^{s}ä' ctī	Gun	"	Firearms.
Gocpī' ctī	Negro	"	?
Yacá ctī	Leaf	"	Rattle.
łaká ctī	Feather or Corn dance		Two rattles.
Tsebē^{n} bené ctī	Crazy or Drunken dance		Rattle.
Yo^{n}ctá ctī	Shawnee dance		Drum.

FASTING AND TABOOS.—Fasting and the observance of certain taboos are special features of the annual ceremony. From the beginning of the event no salt is to be used by anyone. Sexual communication is also tabooed. A general fast must be kept by all the men for twelve hours before taking the emetic, that their systems may be the more receptive to purging. During the second day of the ceremony the men may not leave the town square, nor are they permitted to sleep or lean their backs against any support when tired. For the purpose of enforcing this the four young initiates are provided with poles to strike offenders with. On the second day also no women, dogs or strangers may step over the edge into the square, the women and dogs under pain of being struck by the initiates and strangers under pain of being staked out naked in its middle. The thoughts of the people, too, are expected to be turned toward supernatural things in order to please the various spirits.

NEW FIRE RITE.—The new fire rite performed at sunrise of the second day, is symbolic of a new period of life for the tribe. As far as could be learned, the fires of the various household hearths are not extinguished as among the Creeks, since the kindling of the new fire by the town chief is symbolical of this and suffices for all. The ceremonial method of starting this fire was explained before, so it need not be repeated. The logs in the center of the square-ground were ignited from the fire started in the punk and kept burning until the ceremony is over, by the proper official. The firemaking implements were kept in a bag which hung during the ceremony, along with the rattles when not in use, on the middle post at the front of the town chief's lodge, just over where he sat.

SCARIFICATION.—The next rite to be performed in public after the kindling of the fire is the scarification of the males. Every male in the town is expected to come before two pots of steeped medicinal plants, the *fᵉâdē'*, button snake root, and *to tcałá*, red root, and be scratched by a certain official on the arm or breast, allowing the blood to flow and drop upon the square-ground. There is an analogy between this earthly human ceremony and that enacted by the beings of the sky world. In the same way that Sun was taken to the rainbow and scratched till his blood fell upon the ground, do the Yuchi bring themselves and their male children to have their blood drawn. It seems to be regarded as a form of torture and induration to pain. The falling of their blood upon the square-ground is symbolical of the falling of the mother-of-Sun's blood upon the ground, from which the first Yuchi was created. There is another side to this scratching ceremony. It is also a purgative. The instrument used in it consists of a quill fastened to a piece of the leaf of *fᵉâdē'*, one of the sacred plants, set with six pins, or, as was formerly done, with gar-fish teeth (Fig. 40). This scratcher is dipped in a pot containing a brew of the sacred plants before each male is scratched. Thus he is inoculated with the sacred plant juices and his blood is purified by them against sickness.

THE EMETIC.—The next and perhaps the most important rite of the occasion is the taking of an emetic by all the males of the town. This practice was also instituted by Sun. He gave the people two plants, *fᵉâdē'* and *to tcałá*, as is recorded in the myth, and showed them how to steep them in water. He instructed them to drink the concoction to purify their bodies against sickness during the ensuing inter-ceremonial year. It is thought, in particular, that to eat the first corn of the season without having taken the emetic would certainly result in sickness inflicted by the unappeased deities. The town chief has charge of the preparation of the emetic, aided by the four boy initiates. The pots containing the concoction are of a special form with a decoration on the rim representing the sun (Fig. 31, No. 21). These pots stand during the ceremony, east of the fire near the center of the square (see diagram, Fig. 38). When the sun is about at the zenith those who are highest in rank came forward, facing the east, and drink quantities of the medicine. They are followed by the rest lower in rank and so on. Four at a time are allowed to drink. Then all await the effects quietly in their proper places in the lodges. The proper moment arriving, they proceed to a space near the square and allow the emetic to have its full effect. The rite is repeated several times. After this all the townsmen go to water, wash off their paint and return to their places about the square.

The ceremony of the emetic is concluded with a feast of the first corn and smoking. After this the ball game is played with betting. This event has been described under the heading of games. Dancing again fills in the in-

tervening time until another round of the medicine drinking was performed. The ceremonies were then concluded.

Possibly the main object of the annual festival is the placation of every possible animus. Obedience to the commands of Sun was also highly considered as a matter of importance. Other objects of the ceremonies are, as explained, to turn the public attention to spiritual affairs for a time, away from everyday pursuits. All the potentially malicious spirits and animal, fish and vegetable spirits are propitiated or thanked as the case might be. And all personal grievances among townsmen are declared cancelled after the emetic had been taken. They furthermore state that the scratching and the emetic teach the men to inure themselves to pain and discomfort. Both rites were practiced before going to war.

Captives were, it is said, sometimes burnt to death as sacrifices to the supernatural brings during the ceremonies. In recent times a stake was erected in the southeast corner of the square at the beginning of the event, to represent the place where captives were thus treated. After the emetic is over this stake is thrown down.

The foregoing account is a very general one. A more detailed account of the ceremonial performances as witnessed by me several times will now be given. They were performed at the Sand Creek settlement, where there is a square-ground, in July, 1904, and July, 1905. The photographs were made during the 1905 celebration. There is some difference in detail between the ceremonies of Sand Creek town and Polecat town. The one here recorded is entirely that of Sand Creek town, which has since discontinued its celebration on account of disorder and violence among the young men, due to intoxication.[1] A few features of the Polecat celebration which are based on description, will also be given as they seem to have been left off by the other settlement. It may frequently be necessary to repeat something that has already been mentioned, but this is done intentionally in order to give the details of the particular case and make the account of the actual occurrences more uniform.

The Annual Town Ceremonies.

The following account of the annual ceremony of the Sand Creek Yuchi is based upon notes made at the time, and upon incidental information derived from participants. It deals chiefly with the 1905 celebration although there was no appreciable difference between that of 1904 and the event of 1905.

The Preliminary Day.—According to the evidences of maturity observable in the corn in the neighboring fields, and the approaching phase of the moon, the town chief or head priest (Jim Brown) appointed and announced,

[1] In 1908, on my last visit, I learned that the chiefs had decided to continue the ceremonies as usual.

to the townspeople scattered throughout the neighboring district, a day of general assembly, at which small bundles of sticks about two inches in length (Fig. 37) were distributed to the heads of families. The number of sticks in the bundles indicated the number of days that should pass before the ceremonies would take place. The day had already been decided upon by the chief and was announced at this preliminary meeting. A stick was thrown away each morning thereafter until but one remained, and that was the day of the next assembly at the public square. Dancing took place at this meeting to give a little practice to the men, as they said. Arrangements were also made for the repair of the lodges, and the obtaining of the beef for the barbecue which was to close the event. In other words, this meeting was purely preparatory. All the top earth was carefully taken from the square and placed in a heap behind the north lodge.

When the day arrived for the formal celebration to commence, the Yuchi took care to be on hand before nightfall at the public square, which was situated in a permanent locality near Scull Creek, where a beautiful spring of clear water flowed from a side hill. The ceremony this time was to last three days and

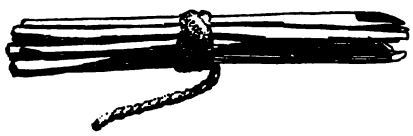

Fig. 37. Tally Sticks.

to include the following ritualistic events. The first day was to be a general gathering, with the commencement of the fast and dancing all through the first half of that night. On the second day, the new fire ceremony was to take place after sunrise, followed by the preparation of the medicines, the scarification, the taking of the emetic, the breaking the fast, and the ceremonial ball game. The ensuing night was to be given up to all-night dancing. On the third day, the people were to disband for a while and return again, after a rest, for several subsequent days of minor observances. This was the plan given out for the carrying on of the celebration.

An explanatory diagram of the square-ground showing some of the things mentioned in the following description is given (Fig. 38) and will be frequently referred to in the account. The date of the 1904 ceremony was July 17; that of 1905 was a few days later in the same month.

First Day.—About one hundred Yuchi having arrived, upon the day set aside in the preliminary gathering, at the camping ground surrounding the public square, friendly intercourse was held among the townsfolk, and sumptuous preparations were made for the evening meal, after which no food could be eaten by adults until the ceremony of taking the emetic was over.

Before dark the four *yătcigī'* went out in single file toward the woods east to secure the four logs for the new fire, to be started the next morning, and also to dig the two medicine roots, *f^{s}âdē'* and *to tcałá*, and to secrete them where they could be readily found when they were to be brought in. Before appearing at the camp on their return, they whooped four times to apprise the town of the commencement of the ceremony and the fast. This whooping caused quite a little commotion among the people. Their manner changed

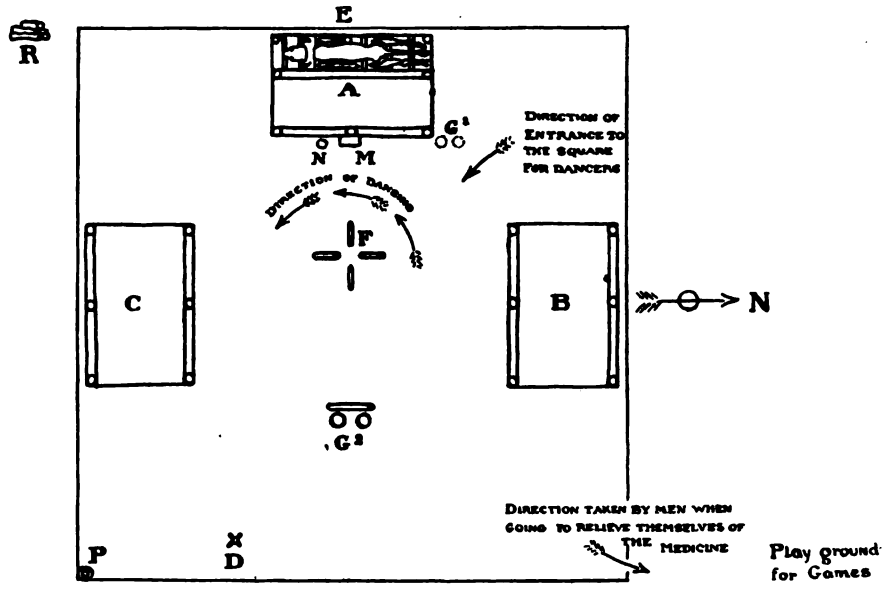

Fig. 38. Yuchi Square-Ground During Ceremony.

A. Chief's Lodge.
B. C. Warriors' Lodge.
D. Place Where Turtle Dance Begins.
E. Steer Flesh on Scaffold.
F. Fire Place.
G¹. Pots of Medicine Before Ceremony of Emetic.
G². Pots During Ceremony of Scratching and Emetic.
M. Town Chief's Seat.
N. Drum.
P. Stake at S.E. Corner.
R. Pile of Wood for Fire.

and it seemed as though they were under constraint. The spirits of the summer ceremonial were then supposed to be watching them for infringements of the taboos. Salt and the other things spoken of before were tabooed from this time until the end of the celebration. The four logs were then deposited in the west lodge, where the Chiefs and their paraphernalia reposed.

At about ten o'clock in the evening, the moon being at the first quarter and over the west lodge, the town chief's assistant, who will here-

after be called second chief, and the *goconé* or master of ceremonies from the Warrior Society, called in a loud voice to the town to come to dance. Meanwhile the *goconé* had started a fire of fagots in the center of the square, where the fire is always made (see diagram, Fig. 38). When the lodges were filled with the townsmen, the *Dātoᵉā'* or Big Turtle Dance was begun.

THE BIG TURTLE DANCE.—In loose order, the leader having a hand rattle in his right hand, the dancers grouped themselves in the southeast corner of the square. (See diagram.) All formed in a compact mass and the leader in the center began moving in a circle, rattling and shouting *'hó! hó!'* The dancers kept in close ranks behind him echoing his shouts. After about five minutes of this, the leader started toward the fire and the dancers all held hands. A woman having the turtle shell rattles on her legs came from the northwest corner and took her place behind the leader holding hands with him. In single file the latter led them around the fire, sunwise. In 1905 there were two of these women. When the men whooped they were joined by two more, when they whooped again the women left the line. After circling a number of times the leader stopped, stamped and whooped and the ranks broke up, the dancers dispersing to their various lodges about the square. The first song was thus finished. After a short interval a leader stepped toward the fire and circling it alone started the second song and was soon joined by other dancers. Two or more women having the shell rattles on their legs took part. During the course of the next few songs the leader took the line to each of the four corners of the square, led them around in a circle and then back to the fire. No drumming accompanied this dance. Women joined in as well as children and strangers. This dance was continued for about two hours, at intervals, and was the only one danced on this night. (See Plate XII[1].)

During the process of this dance, and in all the others too, the *goconé* exhorted the dancers to their best by shouting out encouragement, and with his long staff went about to secure song leaders during the intervals of rest. The Thunder was frequently invoked this night by the *goconé* with cries of *Pīctanᴀ̃/ Pīctanᴀ̃/* "Thunder! Thunder!"

At about midnight when things had quieted down a little, the town chief rose from his seat near the center of the west lodge, and silence was rendered him as he began a speech lasting about fifteen minutes. In this he referred to their ancestors who handed the ceremonies down to them; to the deities who taught them; to the obligations of the present generation to maintain them. He complimented the dancers, referred to the rites of the next day and called

[1] When the first flashlight (Pl. XII, 2) was discharged in making these exposures some of the dancers stopped and some went right on, but they seemed greatly startled and for a moment blinded. Several chiefs then came over and expressed their displeasure. They called it "lightning." I explained that no harm was meant and finally got their consent to make another (Pl. XII, 1) somewhat nearer.

for the assent and cooperation of his town. The men then shouted *'hó! hó!'* the sign of approbation. The town chief concluded with an appeal for good behavior and reverence during the celebration, exhorting them when the event was over to go to their homes in peace and to avoid getting into trouble or disputes with anyone. Then all dispersed for the purpose of sleep or carousing.

SECOND DAY.—Before sunrise of the second day the town chief took his seat in the west lodge. Now the four *yätcigī'* passed off toward the east to bring in the medicine plants. During their absence the town chief was preparing the flints and steel for the new fire. The return of the *yätcigī'* was announced by a series of whoops (*'hâyo! hâyo!'*) and they came in with the plants, depositing them in the west lodge.

NEW FIRE RITE.

The fireplace had been swept clean and covered with sand. The *yätcigī'* now walked sunwise around the spot three times, then stopped, each one standing at one of the cardinal points. They deposited the four logs with their ends pointing toward the cardinal points thus —┼—, then retired to the west lodge behind the town chief. He was now preparing punk and fire materials, having taken them from his bag suspended from the post near his head. He struck the fire into a tray of bark filled with dried pith, in the manner described elsewhere. (See Plate XIII, 1.) When the spark had sprung into a flame the *yätcigī'* took the tray, and ignited sticks between the logs and thus the new fire for the new year was started. They concluded by walking four times around it.[2] During this time at intervals a few taps were given on the water-drum.

Fig. 39. Medicine Pounder.

In the meantime a post had been erected in the southeast corner of the square as a sign that women, dogs and aliens, also those who have eaten corn that season or tasted food since the previous evening, were prohibited from the square under penalty of violence at the hands of the *yätcigī'*. It is also said that in war times captives were bound to this stake when they were to be burned to death.[3]

[2] At this time in the cognate Creek and Cherokee ceremony, each family swept its hearth and started a new fire from the public embers, but the Yuchi symbolized this for the whole town by their public new fire. (19th Report Bureau American Ethnology, p. 402; Cherokee Myths, Mooney; Gatschet, Creek Migration Leg., Vol. II, p. 189 for Kasiχta town; Speck, Creek Indians of Taskigi Town, p. 142 for Taskigi town.)

[3] Also noticed by Bartram among Creeks (cf. Bartram's Travels, p. 518), but in that case there were four stakes, one at each corner of the square.

The medicine plants, red root, *to tcałá*, and button-snake root, *fᵉâdē'*, were now brought by the *yātcigī'*, who walked around the fire with them five times, and then lay them lengthwise, with roots to the east and foliage to the west, in a space about fifteen feet east of the fire, where a halved log was laid on which to crush them. Two crocks, formerly pots of a high shape, were brought full of water and stood in front of the medicines. Kneeling before the pots the *yātcigī'* pounded up the roots and stems with pounders about fourteen inches long, made from peeled branches (Fig. 39). (See Plate XIII, 2.) The crushed roots were then put in the crocks while the stems were thrown behind the north lodge, with the pounders, upon the heap of sacred debris there.

Fig. 40. Scratcher.

SCARIFICATION RITE.

The implement used in the scratching operation which now followed was made by the town chief of a leaf of *fᵉâdē'* and a shaved turkey quill, having six pins fastened with their points projecting through it. (Fig. 40).

The town chief then scratched the scratching official, *gondīné* or *yatsá*, on the right arm after some of the *fᵉâdē'* had been rubbed over it. The operator held the victim by the wrist, and tore his arm almost from elbow to wrist with the six-pointed instrument to the depth of one-eighth of an inch at least. No evidence of pain was manifested by anyone. The scratcher then performed the operation on the town chief. The Chiefs then had their turn, followed by the Warriors. (See Plate XIV.) Small male children were then brought up by their fathers and scratched on the arms, having also

some of the medicine rubbed on their mouths. The young men came next, then the older, until all had been tortured but the four *yätcigī'*, who were the last. Frequent exhortations were given by the second chief to hurry along the tardy ones. Only males were scratched. Tobacco was distributed at this time among the occupants of the lodges by the town chief.

It has been customary in alternate years to do the scratching on the arm and breast, although both in 1904 and 1905 it was done on the arm.

The *yätcigī'* were constantly on the lookout for any man leaning against a post or tree. This is a forbidden indulgence, and they chastise every offender with their staffs. Anyone dropping off to sleep would be equally treated to a blow.

While the scarification was going on the two *ka'ká*, 'white man,' butchers, had barbecued the steer which was left on a scaffold at the rear of the west lodge behind the chiefs. (See diagram of square.) The meat was then distributed by the *ka'ka'* among the different families. With their long staffs they frequently went the rounds of the camp announcing to the women the progress of the rites, and seeing that they were preparing the food for the feast which was to follow the taking of the emetic. Consequently, the women were seen to bring to the border of the square, bowls of stewed meat, bread, boiled corn, coffee and other viands which were then picked up by the men and left on the scaffold with the carcass of the steer, until the ceremony of the emetic should be over. This handling of the food was a severe test to the hungry men. Sometimes it was necessary for the second chief to hurry up the bringing of the food by crying from the eastern edge of the square, whence all signals were given to the camp. The *yätcigī'* stood nearby ever ready to strike anyone found violating a ṭaboo, with their poles. Dogs were frequently chased and belabored when in their roamings they crossed the edge of the square. Several men had to be treated to reminding blows by these young men as they forgot themselves and fell into a doze.

THE RITE OF THE EMETIC.

Now that the sun was about at the zenith and the medicines had been steeping in the sun long enough, it was time for the men to take the emetic in accordance with the instructions of the mythical Sun deity who declared that, as long as he rose from the east and beheld his people taking the sacred emetic, he would continue their tribal existence.

The first to take the emetic were the town chief and the three other square-ground Chiefs. (See Plate XV, 1.) They were followed by the four square-ground Warriors. Then four more Chiefs and four more Warriors took theirs. They dipped up the medicine with cups, two dipping from each pot. They always walked around the north side of the fire in approaching the pots. Nearly

a quart was drunk by each individual. After the first drink the men returned to their respective lodges of rank, and the four Chiefs led again for a second drink in the same order as before. The town chief after this started toward the open space north of the square followed by the rest of the townsmen from the square, and there in the field copious quantities of the medicine were thrown up aided by fingers or weeds. (See Plate XV, 2, also diagram of square.)

After a short interval, when all had taken their places in the square again, the emetic was taken by the four *yātcigī'* in the same manner as their predecessors. When they had finished great relief was manifest throughout the camp, as the ordeal was practically over, and everything so far had gone on all right.

The second chief then led all the men in single file eastward toward the running water, where their paint was washed off and their hands also cleansed. The town chief, however, kept his place at the square, and on the forelog of the west arbor put four ears of green corn. When the procession from the creek returned, all passed before these ears and rubbed their hands over them and then over their faces. All then seated themselves in the proper lodges. Some cobs of last year's corn were thrown in the fire as incense, the act symbolizing the passing out of use of the old crop.

Tobacco was then passed around and they smoked. The town chief made a short speech relative to their fidelity, to the ritual and the successful termination of the ceremonies. He invited them to take their fill of food and reminded them of the forgiveness due to petty offenders during the past season. Hearty approbation was manifested toward his remarks. When he took his seat and a few moments were passed in general deliberation, the food was distributed among those in the lodges and general feasting ensued.

The post at the southeast corner of the square was then taken down in attestation of the close of the taboo against aliens on the public square.

After eating, the next duty was to proceed to the nearest timber, where every man secured a branch of wood which he carried to a pile near the square. As he threw down his contribution, each gave a loud shout. This wood was destined for consumption that night when the dances were to be performed. The duties of the ceremonial officers were now over.

Now that the ceremony was over for the time, the participants dispersed to their respective camps and enjoyed a period of social intercourse and rest. After some hours of rest a ball game was arranged by the elders for the young boys, for the purpose of giving them practice. By the middle of the afternoon, sides were chosen among the young men for the more serious game, which was played for several hours. Captains for the opposite sides were picked from among the best players. A ceremonial sentiment underlaid the game, as no betting was indulged in this time.

By evening, when all had partaken of food and gotten a little rest, the fire was replenished and men and women assembled in the lodges as on the preced-

ing night. The dancing was to continue all night, and a great number of the dances were to be celebrated. The general spirit of the gathering had then lost its severity and restraint. Laxity prevailed in every respect, together with some debauchery and licensed immorality which were treated with remarkable toleration by parents and elders.

DANCING.

On this, the second night, about six of the before-mentioned dances were performed. Although the general characteristics and functions of the dances have been described in the last chapter, a few of the peculiarities will be given again according to the actual cases as observed on both ceremonial occasions.

All of the Yuchi dances were this night performed around the fire in the center of the square. The movement was from right to left, contra-clockwise. The steps of the dancers were short, the motion being chiefly in the leg below the knee. In general effect the dance steps look more like shuffling. The foot, being brought down flat, gives forth a sound earning for the dance the name of Stamp, or Stump Dance, among the whites.

Male dancers held their arm nearest the fire, the left level, with their heads and the head slightly drooped, as they said, to protect their faces from the heat and glare of the fire. The true explanation of this is probably different, but is lost in obscurity. Women never assume this posture. Their arms were always at their sides when dancing, and their feet were never raised far from the ground. Motions were constantly made, as in the Buzzard dance when the arms of the performers were lowered and raised after the manner of a buzzard's wings.

On a tree at one side near the edge of the square a space of several feet of bark had been peeled off. Here a lot of red paint of mixed clay and grease had been smeared, and this was a source of supply for those who wished to daub themselves or renew their facial designs. Nearly all men wore the design of their society painted on their faces. Some were only promiscuously smeared with red and black.

In the nature of ornaments most of the men of the town wore white heron feather tremblers attached to their hats throughout the first few days. (Pl. VII, Figs. 7, 8.) These feathers, *gēhwané*, were shaved half-way up the quill to make them a little top heavy. The base is wound in the end of a wire spring about six inches long. The motions of the dancers impart a lively waving backward and forward to these feathers. As far as could be ascertained they were purely ornamental. Some dancers wore bunches of red, black, blue and white feathers in their hat bands. All wore their best clothes in the dances. The women, some of them, were decorated with a metal comb in the back of their hair, from which hung varicolored ribbons reaching nearly to the ground. In

moving about, the wind carried these streamers out horizontally behind, producing a very pretty effect.

During the dances the town chief did not take part, but sat stolidly in his seat, in the west lodge, facing the square-ground and dancers. From time to time he gave a loud whoop or cry of encouragement and generally joined in the whoop at the end of the dance stanzas.

The dance songs were generally long, and divided into cantos. After each song or canto the leader whooped, the *goconé* echoed the cry and the dance circle broke up until the leader started the next canto. At the end of each song dancers imitated the cry of the animal named by the dance. The leader always knew the song and carried the air, the other dancer furnishing the chorus. Only the male dancers sang. Some of them carried fans of turkey buzzard or eagle tails. When a leader carried one of these fans he passed it to another man when he wished him to lead the next dance. A specimen of fan, made apparently of a buzzard's tail, is shown in Pl. VII, Fig. 9. The feather attach-

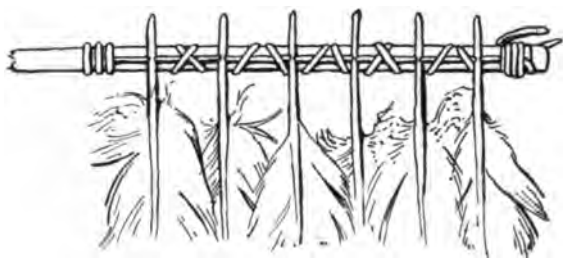

Fig. 41. Feather Attachment of Wand.

ment is very simple, the quills being perforated and fastened side by side with a string of yarn strung through them transversely in two places.

A few of the dances observed during the ceremonies will now be described more in detail. Some of the song syllables were also obtained and are given in part. In such song burdens the part sung by the leader is given on the same line as that sung by the chorus of dancers, the two being separated by a space. Some of these dance songs were obtained from Laslie Cloud a Creek who claimed that both the Yuchi and the Creeks of his town, Taskigi, held them in common.

The Feather Dance, *łakané ctī*, until lately took place only at the ceremony of the Polecat settlement of the Yuchi. It was a daylight dance and occurred on the second day. It was performed before taking the emetic and again afterwards. The account of it was obtained from several informants.

There were four leaders, two abreast, the first two holding feather sticks, having six white heron's feathers attached to the end, one in each hand.

(See Pl. VII, Figs. 5, 6 and Fig. 41.) The next two shook hand rattles. The dancers formed in line two abreast and came running (dancing) sunwise toward a pile of earth, where the sweepings from the square were piled in a heap at the eastern side of the square sometimes to a height of three and one-half feet. Facing the sun they leaped over the pile as they reached it. Should anyone fail to make the leap or fall or drop anything while leaping he was seized by the four *yätcigī'* and taken to the creek where he was ducked before he could return to the square or pick up anything that he had dropped. The staffs of the *yätcigī'* were also decorated with white feathers for this dance.

This dance symbolized the journey of the sun over the square-ground the Sun deity was believed to be closely watching the dance from above. Should it not be properly enacted he was likely to stop in his course, according to the belief. The Feather Dance was known also as the Corn Dance.

The Gun Dance was called *Yäf$^{\varepsilon}$ä' ctī*. This dance was said to be chiefly for pleasure, but it had some reference to the spirits dominating weapons and was believed to increase their effectiveness. It was performed at night by the Sand Creek town, and during the daytime by the Polecat settlement. The dancers held their firearms in the right hand. At the end of each song, (*a*), (*b*), (*c*), all were discharged toward the ground and the dancers whooped. The song is

(*a*) *haigó didī wédidī,* *yá$^{\varepsilon}$eya,*
(repeated a number of times).
(*b*) *helé helé maya,* *gówena,*
(repeated a number of times).
(*c*) *waígeto wa$^{\varepsilon}$ayé,* *héya,*
(repeated a number of times).

The Duck Dance, *Cäné ctī*, was another in which it was sought to win the favor of the supernatural guardians of game. An element of thanks is said to have been recognized in these animal dances. The dancers held hands winding around in circles and figures behind the leader, in single file. Men and women joined in promiscuously. The leader carried a hand rattle, and drumming also accompanied it. A band of visiting Shawnee joined in this dance with the Yuchi in 1904, arranging themselves so as to alternate in the file with Yuchi dancers. The songs were, in part,

(*a*) *yē'ha yálēno,* *wéhe yá$^{\varepsilon}$heya,*
(repeated a number of times).
yagwē' hä'$^{\varepsilon}$, a cry in imitation of the duck, given at end of the song; then *häñk, häñk, häñk* rapidly.
(*b*) *wē'hē yáhēya,* *áhēya wá$^{\varepsilon}$hēya,*
(repeated a number of times).
(Repeat cries as above.)

The Horse Dance, *Ba'tā' ctī*, had no unusual features. It was of the general type described. At the end of each song all the dancers grunted like stallions.

(*a*) *yahó gʌni yá, súnaga,*
(repeated a number of times).
yahó gʌni yá,
(*b*) *yahówē ya, yálēgē,*
(repeated a number of times).
(*c*) *hīyáyahó, hē'lēna,*
(repeated a number of times).

The dancers whinnied like stallions four times.

In the Buzzard Dance, *Yʌⁿtī' ctī*, the dancers waved their arms like the wings of a buzzard. At the end of each song all bent over, spat, and hissed like buzzards disgorging food. It was said to indicate bad breath and badtaste in the mouth. Sometimes the motion of the arms was slow, with the palms of hands turned down; sometimes it was fast, as in song (*c*). This was a totemic dance.

(*a*) *yahólēha, yagowē'ᴱē,*
(repeated a number of times).
(*b*) *tawaya, hēlē',*
(repeated a number of times).
(*c*) *hánēwáyahē,*
(repeated a number of times).
(*d*) *sū'lī wáya hē,*
(repeated a number of times).
(*e*) *hē'ya yowē', hʌnnē',*
(repeated a number of times).
nó haya,
(arms raised high and slowly waved).

The Rabbit Dance, *Cadjwané ctī*, is another of the common type dances. The dancers held their left arm crooked between their faces and the fire. They began by squealing like rabbits. It was also a totemic dance.

(*a*) *yohólena, yohóᴱ oᴱ hʌ',*
(repeated a number of times).
(*c*) *wā háyo nă,*
(repeated a number of times).
(*d*) *yohólēna,*
(repeated a number of times).
(4) *wāháyonă',*
(repeated a number of times).

The Fish Dance was called *Cūcpá ctī*, Pike Dance, or *Cudjᴱá ctī*, Catfish Dance. The dancers waved their arms at their sides like the fins of a fish.

Four whoops were given at the beginning. The Fish Dance was totemic also. This dance was quite an important one. There was much more stamping and shouting in it than in the others.

hóyalē hóyalē, *yo–hū–ū–ho*[1],
(shouted out and accompanied by stamping).
yē–hē–hō, *yáleha,*
(stamping, shouted).
yo–ū–ū–ho,
(shouted, with violent stamping).

The Leaf Dance, *Yacá ctī,* was rather graceful in effect. The dancers waved their hands imitating leaves blown by the wind. In this dance the grateful shade of the summer foliage is recognized by the people as a blessing. I was told that several women carried the hand rattle in the Leaf Dance. The song was as follows and was sung four times with a great deal of repetition of the different parts. The repetitions were very rapid and seemed quite irregular toward the end.

wahī yonē', *heya',*
(repeated a number of times).
hēga[ɛ] *yonē',* *heya',*
(repeated a number of times).
hodjī' gä yó,
(repeated a number of times).

The Shawnee Dance, *Yo*[n]*ctá ctī,* is said to have been borrowed from the neighboring Shawnee, with whom the Yuchi are very intimate. It is a very picturesque and animated dance, indeed, a general favorite. Only the drum is used, one man beating it while several others sing. A line of women filed out from one corner of the square holding hands, led by a Shawnee girl beautifully dressed. Very soon the men from the different lodges came in between each pair of women and took their hands. The whole line of alternating men and women holding hands, then wound round and about the square-ground imitating the movements of a serpent. The song syllables as remembered, consisted of *ya na na we hé* repeated over and over. At intervals announced by a whoop the dancers all faced right about and continued in that way until the next whoop.

The Buffalo Dance, *Wedīngá ctī,* was an important one. The dancers held sticks in their hands. Formerly they wore buffalo robes on their backs and the stuffed skins of the buffalo's head over their shoulders. The dancers held their arms at their sides with the sticks clinched in their fists. Their bodies were bent stiffly forward and they grunted like buffaloes. The first three

[1] The hyphen denotes emphasis and arrested voice.

songs only are given. First the leader sang a part, then the chorus, then all joined in the cry *yâ yâ īhŏ'*, or grunted.

(*a*) *hē' yalēna*, (repeated a number of times);
(grunting) *yâ yâ īhŏ'*.

(*b*) *náwa yahá hēlē*, *hēyō hówīya*,
(repeated a number of times).
yâ yâ īhŏ' (cry).

(*c*) *hyó lena hyó lena hī'*, *hyaẇá hēlē*,
(repeated a number of times).
yâ yâ īhŏ' (cry).

In the Chicken Dance, *Wētc^{ε}ă'ctī*, the men and women held hands side by side, marching two abreast. Men were allowed liberties with the persons of their partners because they were imitating cocks. The singing in this appeared to be more in unison.

(*a*) *yágowī hólē ha*,
yahólēha yagowī^{ε}ī',
(repeated a number of times).

(*b*) *hégowī yahoya nalē hē gowī^{ε}ī'*,
yalē'hoya hánawīye^{ε}é',
(repeated a number of times).

(*c*) *hē'yahē nohē*,
hē'nayanadawīya,
(repeated a number of times).

In the Owl Dance, *Kyā^{n}'ctī*, there was the same form in dancing as in the Chicken Dance, but no liberties were allowed. In this each song was much repeated throughout. The accent was too varied to record.

(*a*) *ahēyowana hā*.
(*b*) *yowalē yowalēhē*.
(*c*) *hayodjē ha^{ε} agē*.
(*d*) *hayowana hayodje^{ε} ha^{ε}agē*.
(*e*) *tawayahēlē*.

The Crazy or Drunken Dance, *Tsebenbenē^{n} ctī*, was the last to be performed before daybreak of the second and last night of the ceremonies.

In character it was extremely obscene, as well as in words of the songs. The leaders frequently composed parts which they sang. They were given in these to ridiculing others. The commonest words seem to have been, "I am drunk; I want whiskey." The more selfrespecting women often refused to join in it, as temporary alliances were understood to result from intimacy

between the sexes on this occasion. The men whinnied like stallions or mules as signals. The close of the last song was uproarious, being followed by general debauchery. Spectators were also sharers in the latter.

The whiskey, invoked in the words of the song, was considered a divine inflatus; the opinion of the Yuchi in regard to it seems to be analogous to the esteem in which the mescal or peyote is held among the western and southwestern tribes. There is, in fact, some reason to believe that the mescal worship may spread among the Yuchi if it continues eastward, as it has already gained a foothold among the conservative Pawnees and Osages.

The liberality of the Yuchi religious sentiment is seen in the manner in which dances have been invented for the worship of acculturated objects, like the cow, chicken, firearms, etc., which they did not know in early times. Constant borrowing has also taken place between the Yuchi and their neighbors, the Creeks, Shawnees and others. During the second night of the ceremonies visitors from other tribes were expected to perform some of their dances, which from all outward appearances belonged to the Yuchi ritual and were joined in by the Yuchi as well as by visitors. The *goconé* always extended the invitations to outsiders when their dances were desired.

THIRD DAY.—After the all-night dancing at the end of the second night, which was concluded by the Crazy or Drunken Dance, the townfolk disbanded. Those who lived at a distance went home to sleep and rest. Sometimes a few young people lingered about the square during these days, engaged in social intercourse or games.

FOURTH DAY.—The fourth day was spent at home in much the same way as the previous one.

FIFTH DAY.—On the fifth day the townsfolk assembled at the square again. as on the first day.

SIXTH DAY.—On the sixth day at noon another feast was prepared and eaten on the square. This meal consisted of meat.

The whole of the following night was given over to dancing and revelry like that of the second night.

SEVENTH DAY.—On the seventh day the ceremonial gathering was at an end, and all dispersed for the last time. The new year was now begun with a clean record, civilly and religiously, for the whole town. These continued days of assembly were held in 1905 with an unusual manifestation of interest, as the chiefs had decided not to hold the ceremonies another year.

At other times of the year dancing took place at gatherings, but they were regarded as entirely informal. Attendance on the part of the men was not compulsory at such times.

In concluding this account of the ceremonies of the Yuchi a few words might be said in the way of comparison with the rites and beliefs of surrounding culture areas.

The new fire rite, which was commonly found throughout the Southeast, has analogies in other regions. Nearly all occurrences of this kind, however, are found in the southern portion of the continent. A new fire rite was prominent in Mexico,[1] and among the Pueblo tribes of the Southwest.[2]

The idea of the town shrine also strongly suggests the sacred altars of the Southwestern tribes and the shrines or altars concerned in the ceremonies of the tribes of the Plains. In all of these altars from the Southwest, across the Plains to the Southeast a common element is to be found in the symbolic painting or color representations on the ground.

As regards the ceremonies of scarification and the taking of the emetic we again find a specialization, in the Southeast, of these features which are, however, widely distributed westward and southward. The scratching operation regarded as a form of torture has distant analogies among nearly all the tribes of the Plains, where the Sun Dance was performed. The emetic ceremony, found prominently in nearly every southeastern tribe, is also traceable across the Plains to the Southwest.[3] A difference is to be noted in the character of the public communal ceremonies as we go from east to west. In the Southeast every male in the town is a participant in them and must undergo every rite. On the Plains certain individuals only undergo the torture and the priests of the ceremony take the emetic. Again in the Southwest the ceremonies are performed characteristically by the priests, who alone take the emetic. There are besides a number of similarities in detail between the rites of the Plains, the Southeast and Southwest. Considering the matter as a whole, we are led, provisionally, to the opinion that, as regards ceremonials, a great deal of similarity characterizes the Southern area of North America extending in a sort of zone from the Atlantic along the Gulf and thence westward and southward to what may have been their center of distribution.

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[1] The Mexican new fire ceremony at the beginning of each cycle is given in Die Culturvölker Alt-Amerikas, Dr. Gustav Brühl, New York, Cincinnati, St. Louis, 1875–87, pp. 237, 412.

[2] Cf. Fewkes, in American Anthropologist, N. S., Vol. 2, p. 138, for a discussion of the distribution of this rite.

[3] Cf. Dorsey, The Arapaho Sun Dance, Field Columbian Museum, Publication No. 75, Chicago, 1903; also The Cheyenne, same series, No. 103, p. 164, where dancers cause themselves to vomit near the end of the ceremony; also Dorsey, Mythology of the Wichita, Carnegie Institution, Wash., 1904, p. 16, where priests in ceremony take emetic. I was also informed that the Comanche cerebrated a rite before the season's first corn was eaten in which, during the performance of a round dance, all the villagers took an emetic brewed from a certain plant. See also Stevenson, The Sia Indians, Eleventh Report Bureau American Ethnology, 1894, p. 87; Voth, Oraibi Summer Snake Ceremony, Field Columbian Museum, Pub. No. 83, p. 347; Dorsey and Voth, Mishongnovi Ceremonies, same series, No. 66, pp. 159-261; Fewkes, Tusayan Snake and Flute Ceremonies, Nineteenth Report Bureau American Ethnology, 1900, p. 976.

Treatment of Disease.

SHAMANISM.

Various practices are observed among the Yuchi for the cure of disease. They are chiefly songs used in conjunction with herbs, or other substances, without regard to their actual medicinal character, whether beneficial or harmful. In each settlement the town chief is one of the shamans who retains the knowledge of the plants and rituals. Among the Creeks the powers of shaman are open to any successful candidate, a remark which may apply to the Yuchi as well, though as far as could be learned only one such shaman lives in the Sand Creek settlement now and he is the town chief.

The treatment consists in giving the medicinal herbs to the patient, for internal or external application, and in performing other rites with appropriate songs of address to the supposed causes of the disorder.

The shamanistic rites of the Creeks and Yuchi are said to be identical. This has been observed in regard to the practices, and was asserted by informants from both tribes in regard to the songs and the medicinal herbs going with them. As information from the only Yuchi doctor in Sand Creek could not be had, a collection of songs in text and on the phonograph, a list of diseases with their causes, and the herb cures was made from a famous Creek shaman, *Kabítcimála*, Laslie Cloud, living near the Yuchi settlements.[1]

All bodily affliction is believed to come from the presence of some harmful foreign matter in the system, placed there either by some animal spirit or another conjurer. The origin is, however, mostly traceable to animals. As long as this substance remains in the body, health is impossible. Since trouble is likely to come from so many sources, the Yuchi finds it necessary to be constantly on guard against the operation of malignant spirits and conjurers by observing the taboos. Should a man unwittingly offend one of the animal spirits, he would suffer. The moment anyone feels pains or illness it is believed that some offence has thus been done. The first thing to do is to placate the spirit agency, and secondly to remove the material cause. The placation of the spirit is effected by some song or formula and the removal of the foreign matter is effected by the administration of some medicinal drinks. To have the obnoxious substance removed and the placation gone through with, the services of a shaman are required. The shaman must first discover the cause. This is done by secret methods, upon which his skill and reputation usually rest. Some shamans can diagnose by examining the sufferer's shirt, for which a charge of twenty-five cents or equivalent is made.

Certain roots and plants, steeped in water, are necessary aids to the shaman in driving out the trouble, and various formulae go with these medicines.

[1] See Memoirs of American Anthropological Association, Vol. 2, Part 2, The Creek Indians of Taskigi Town, p. 121.

The shaman secretes himself with the medicines, and filling a pot with water, steeps them, all the time blowing into the concoction through a hollow cane. This cane is about two and one-half feet long and has three red ribbons tied on it. (See Pl. VII, Fig. 1.) This takes place between the stanzas of the appropriate song. Nearly all of the songs are sung four times, then a long blowing is given the medicine, after which it is thought properly charged with magic power. It is then given to the patient, who drinks it and washes in it, applying it according to the shaman's advice. The song and ritual is believed to throw the disease into some animal, but not the one causing it. The following are a few of the medicine songs with the corresponding diseases, their symptoms and medicines.

Names of medicine songs, according to the creatures believed to cause the diseases.	Symptoms.	Medicinal Herbs.
Deer	Swelling, boils	Cedar leaves.
Deer Sun	Headache	Willow species (?). Sunflower.
Young Deer	Swollen joints and muscles.	Cedar leaves and Deer Potato (*Licinaria scariosa*).
Water Moccasin	Swollen cheeks, toothache and sore gums.	Dried twigs and leaves.
Hog	Nausea and indigestion	(*Hierocicum* species).
Water Wolf	Nausea, dysentery	Sassafras.
Snake Hunting	Swollen face and limbs	Cedar leaves.
Little Turtle	Coughing, sores on limbs and neck.	Wild Cherry bark.
Panther Wildcat	Nausea, gripes	(?)
Bear	Nausea, dysentery	(*Chenopodium* species).
Bird	Nausea, dysentery, stiff limbs.	Bird's nest.
Horse	Gastritis	Corn cobs.
Beaver	Pain in bowels, constipation.	Black Willow (?) and tulip (?).
Fish	Insomnia	Ginseng.
Great Horned Serpent.	Swollen limbs, lameness.	(?)
Raccoon Yellow Alligator Otter	Insomnia, Melancholia	(?)
Ghost	Fever	(?)

The explanation of the origin of diseases and medicines, as given by my Creek informant, is as follows, in abstract, "Our ancestors of the olden time told it. The Deer said that he made the sickness and the medicine for it, thus (for the cure of trouble inflicted by him). The Bear . . . etc. The Many Snakes . . . etc. The Felines . . . etc. The Water Creatures . . . etc. The Seashore Creatures . . . etc."

Sickness is called *gałen'*, 'trouble'. The expression for sickness is rather peculiar. There is no regular verb for it, so when a man is sick he says "Sickness, or trouble, feels me" (*gałen' dzē yū'*).

Sympathetic healing appears to be the underlying theory in the use of the formulas and herbs. It characterizes the practices, so far as I know, of most of the southeastern tribes. A very conservative man named *Kyē'bané* is said to be the one best informed in shamanism, and it is likely that a collection of formulas could be obtained from him if he could be induced to part with his knowledge. Shamans hold their formulas in high esteem and will only impart them to chosen or favored persons, even then at monopoly rates of charge. If perchance ordinary persons come into possession of a knowledge of any formulas or remedies they make use of them the same as a regular shaman would. Spiritual appointment to the office does not seem to be entirely necessary for success. Anyone who knows some good cures can find employment in his neighborhood. Charges may be made for such treatment, but never need be paid until recovery or at least improvement is obtained.

To illustrate this I will give the experience of a Sand Creek Yuchi. He was quite clever in diagnosing and curing troubles among the Indians. Once while he was lounging about town with some friends, a very emaciated white man whom they knew passed by. He complained of being sick with some trouble which the physicians could not account for. The Yuchi casually remarked that he could cure him. Thereupon the white man declared that unless he could be cured he knew he would die, and that he would make it worth while to the doctor who cured him. The Yuchi became interested, secured the man's consent and started in with his shamanism. After working over the man for some weeks he began to improve and finally he was cured so that he could continue with his trade. The man did very well after this in health and in business but the Yuchi never asked him for pay. Some time afterwards the two met on the street in company with some friends. They remarked on the man's recovery and prosperity. He was very profuse in his praise of the Indian treatment and then to show his appreciation decided to be generous before the company. He munificently rewarded the expectant old shaman with the sum of fifty cents. This aroused a great deal of laughter among the Indians for some time after. The old man repeated it to everybody over and over again in lengthy terms, describing how he dug roots, sang songs and blew up

medicine until he was breathless, for several months, to make a great case. But he never threatened to undo his cure.

I did not learn of the existence of any women who made a practice of shamanism.

The shamans furthermore possess secret means of divination. The town chief of the Sand Creek settlement gave an example of his power in this direction just before the annual celebration of 1904. I ventured to suggest to the master of ceremonies that I be allowed to fast in the square during the second day of the ceremony and take the emetic with the others. He told me that he would consult with the town chief about it to see whether I had eaten any corn or not, as, it will be recalled, those who have partaken of corn beforehand are forbidden the privilege of joining in the rites. In the meanwhile the town chief consulted a pot of medicine for the answer. Just what he did and how the answer appeared to him I could not learn. Shortly afterwards the master of ceremonies returned. I was told that the town chief found out that I had recently eaten corn and thereby violated the taboo. The master of ceremonies then asked me if it were true and I told him that it was.

One process of divination to learn the animal that causes disease is to conjure in some way over a pot of medicine until the image of the animal appears in the stuff. The shaman claims to see the reflection at the bottom of the pot. A similar process is common among the Creeks, and, incidentally, I learned that the Chickasaw seer divined by means of a piece of bear's dung or by the leaning of an upright pole.[1]

CEREMONIES.

What has so far been said in regard to the treatment of disease deals only with what might properly be called shamanism. Besides the regular practice of curing disease, which is in the hands of especially qualified persons, there are various methods employed by individuals for themselves when attacked by sickness or threatened with it. The town itself celebrates a public ceremony when threatened with evil in the shape of sickness, or when actually suffering from some epidemic. When a man becomes sick and does not desire to employ a shaman to cure him but prefers to treat himself, he can resort to the sweat-bath and emetic. In some respects the sweat-bath of the Yuchi is similar to that of many other American tribes, but there are some differences. A tent-like shelter is erected conveniently near running water and made thoroughly weather-tight. The operator then provides himself with a vessel of water, in which is steeped one of the several roots which acted as emetics. Tobacco, red root, or button snake root (the latter two having been mentioned

[1] See notes on Chickasaw Ethnology and Folk-Lore, Journal of American Folk-Lore, No. 76, p. 51 (1907).

in the account of the annual ceremonies) can be used for this. If tobacco be employed, only a palmful of the dried blossoms to a pail of water is necessary. Rocks are heated and piled in the center of the floor space in the tent, and when all is ready the patient enters naked, closes himself in and begins to drink as much of the emetic as he can. When two or three dipperfuls have been swallowed vomiting begins. The operator vomits upon the hot rocks and the liquid turns immediately into a cloud of steam. In this way the process of drinking and vomiting on the hot rocks is kept up until the man is thoroughly sweated and purged internally. Then he emerges and plunges into the river.

The sweat-bath is taken not only when sickness is felt but from time to time by different individuals to ward it off. It is done also to right one's self with the Sun deity, and before serious undertakings like the hunt, the journey or the warpath. The town also has a general public ceremony, the object of which is to ward off not only sickness but evils of other sorts whatever they might be. The ceremony embodies the ideas of physical purging, of purification in a religious sense and of propitiation to the various supernatural beings. It consists of dancing and vomiting.

The ceremony is called *Tsotī'benē*, 'Medicine Drinking.' When sickness, or trouble in general is abroad or threatens the town, the town chief called the families to the square-ground for the observance. At sundown they gather while a quantity of the emetic is prepared. Everyone is given to drink until he vomits. Then in the interval the proper persons prepare more of the draught, while the people spend the time in dancing various dances. When the medicine is ready again the *goconē'*, the leader of the Warrior society, calls the people for another drink. This they take, allowing it to have its effect, then fall to dancing again. During the whole ceremony, which is carried on all night, no one is allowed to sleep or doze. The officers of the Warrior society have to see to it that no one breaks this rule. The dancing and drinking are continued until sunrise, at which time the ceremony is ended.

A few other individual practices for curing sickness in children were observed. These are, so to speak, family methods quite generally known and practiced without any particular ceremony. For a sore mouth and irritation of the intestines the fresh blood of a chicken is thought to be effective. The living fowl is cut through the back of the neck, the bleeding stump thrust into the open mouth of the sufferer, and the blood swallowed as it flows. For whooping cough the sufferer drinks some water in which a crow was soaked whole. The analogy is said to be drawn between the coughing and the crow's cawing.

Incidentally it was learned that the Indians when suffering with toothache never try to extract the tooth but, if they do anything, just chew some strong herbs, sometimes tobacco.

I found a man with a piece of some small whitish root, which looked as though it might be ginseng, in his money bag. He said that it was good to keep away sickness. He also used an infusion of it to relieve his child of croup at night. He said that he always carried it when traveling.

Tobacco blossoms are employed as an ordinary physic and emetic. Three or four of the dried blossoms suffice when steeped in a medium sized pot of water.

The common method of treating nose-bleed is to pour cold water over the sufferer's head.

AMULETS.

Protective amulets were more commonly worn heretofore than now. One specimen was obtained from the neck of a child. Its particular function was to bring sleep and rest to the wearer. The thing consists of an insect larva sewed tightly in a buckskin covering decorated on one side with blue and white beads (Fig. 42). The fetish symbolizes a turtle, the similarity in form being carried out further by three little loops of white beads representing the hind legs and tail. A double potency was ascribed to this object since it embodies the influence of two creatures who spend much of their existence in a dormant state. In the figure white beads are represented by open spaces and dark blue beads by the filled-in spaces. The center row of lighter blue is shown by the shaded spaces.

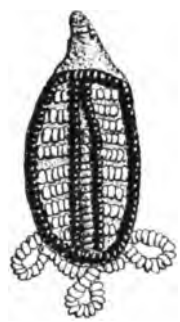

Fig. 42. Amulet.

Another charm to keep children from getting sick was composed of some small white bones wrapped up in buckskin or rag and tied to their necks or hammocks. Bones of this sort were also believed to prevent children from crying in the night and to protect them in general from the effects of all possible evil. It is also understood that men wore small, curiously formed objects, or trophies, which had some relation to events in their career, in the belief that the things would prove effectual in protecting and guiding them in some way.

MYTHOLOGY.

Some of the most important mythologic accounts have been given in the description of religious beliefs and need not be repeated. If the following interpretation of Southern mythology be correct, it would seem that the myths of the Yuchi and the other southeastern tribes belong in one fairly homogeneous group, and that the fundamental myth elements, here somewhat specialized on account of local interests, also belong in the extensive common category widely distributed over the continent.

The cosmogonic idea of the Yuchi, and the other tribes of the Southeast, is purely creational, in contrast to the transformational concept of the Algonkian, Siouan, and especially of the tribes of the northwest Pacific coast. The cosmogonic myth type of the Cherokee, Muskogi and Yuchi is, with a few exceptions, as follows:

Water is everywhere. The only living creatures are flying beings and water beings. They dispute over existing conditions and some decide to make, a world. They induce Crawfish (Creek, Yuchi) or Beetle (Cherokee) to dive for it. When earth is brought up from the depths of the water, it is made to grow until it becomes the present earth. Buzzard is deputed to fly over, and flatten it, but he tires and so causes roughness in the form of mountains. After this comes the creation of sun, moon and stars for the benefit of the terrestrial creatures. Then follows the creation of man, which varies too much among the types for composite rendering.[1]

The following two classes may be distinguished in the myths: the sacred, relating to the culture hero and the deeds of the animal creators, and the commonplace, relating to the Rabbit trickster, various animals, and their exploits, etc. The latter class, subject to much variation and change at the hands of different individuals, is extremely characteristic of the whole Southeast.

The culture hero concept so general throughout America is found among the Yuchi embodied in the personality of the Sun. The trickster and transformer character is found in the Rabbit, a personage here quite separate and distinct from the culture hero.

The culture hero concept is closely connected with religion and ritual, while the trickster concept is not. The culture hero is believed to be the author of Yuchi tribal existence, their clan system, ceremonies, etc., but does not

[1] Myths of the Creeks, W. O. Tuggle, MSS. Bur. Amer. Eth.; Myths of Cherokee, J. Mooney, Nineteenth Rep. Bur. Amer. Eth., p. 239; Creek Inds. of Taskigi Town, Speck, op. cit., p. 145.

seem to be concerned in the creation myth. As the myth relates, the Sun deity placed the Yuchi under obligation to follow out his instructions in worship to insure their tribal integrity and they look to him as the author of all good.

The culture hero myth of the Yuchi, with the one personality, his coming, his creation of the Yuchi, his instructions to them, and his departure and promise, suggests a legend of the Creeks quoted by numerous authors and first recorded by Hawkins.[1] Here four deities, 'hiyouyulgee',[2] probably cardinal point deities, appear analogous to the Sun deity of the Yuchi. Although no other authentic mention has been made of the entire myth among the Creeks, the one described by Hawkins looks very much like a partial outline of the Yuchi culture-hero myth.

Another important mention of the four culture heroes of the Creeks and the origin of ceremonies and medicine plants is found in the Tuggle collection of Creek Myths.[3] The myth comes from Tookabatchie (*Tukabaχtci*) town.

Four persons came from "Esakutumisi"[4] and brought some metal plates to them, which are retained and exhibited to this day in the public square at the ceremonies, as town "palladia." These four deities instructed the Tookabatchie, prophesied the coming of the whites, bequeathed them their ceremonial care of the metal plates and made their future welfare dependent upon it. One of the four died and over the spot where he was buried a plant appeared which was tobacco. (Tookabatchie town is credited by Tuggle with a migration legend similar to that of Kasiχta.)

Owing to the fact that so many of the myths, or parts of myths, current among the southeastern tribes are analogous to those found among the southern negroes, much discussion has arisen over their origin. Without regard to the names of characters involved in the tales, the elements of action ought to be the means of determining to some extent the source of a large number. Where analogous events are found in the mythologies of other American tribes less

[1] Myth from Hawkins, Sketch of Creek Country, 1798–99, pp. 81, 82.

"Opinion of Tassekiah Micco on Origin of the Creeks, and the New Fire.

"There are in the forks of Red river.....two mounds of earth. .....Here they were visited by the Hiyouyulgee, four men who came from the four corners of the world. One of these asked the Indians where they would have their fire. They pointed to a place; it was made, and they sat down around it. The Hiyouyulgee directed that they should pay particular attention to the fire, that it would preserve them and let Esaugetuh Emissee know their wants. One of these visitors took them and showed them the passau (Button Snake Root, *ʃᵉâde'*, of the Yuchi); another showed them the Micco ho yo ejau (Red Root, *to tcala'*, of the Yuchi), then the Auchenau (Cedar) and Tooloh (Sweet Bay)..... After this, the four visitors disappeared in a cloud going from whence they came....."

[2] Ha'yayʌ'lgi, 'Light people,' 'People of the light,' Brinton, Myths of New World, pp. 94, 95.

[3] MS. unpublished in Bureau American Ethnology.

[4] Hisákida imíssi, 'Master of Breath.'

influenced by outsiders, it may be safely assumed that those myths, or parts, are native to America. And in some cases, too, purely indigenous myth actions have been recorded from both Africa and America. No discussion is necessary in such cases of accidental similarity. But a large number of Indian myths of the Southeast show both Indian and negro aspects, and it is in regard to this class of myth that the question arises.

From Indian informants it has been recently learned that stories describing the cunning and wisdom of various animals corresponding to clan totems, have been welcomed by the Indians to illustrate the superiority of some particular totemic animal. As the honor of the totem is carefully maintained by each clan, it is quite natural that any tale adding to the glory of a totem should be adopted by the members of the clan and told as though it were actually concerned with their totem. Wherefore elements of African or European myths have been continually engrafted in whole or in part on the native stock of animal tales, until it is hardly possible now to distinguish which is which. This explanation was furnished by Indians and seems to be generally understood among the Yuchi, Creek and Chickasaw, and it may possibly apply to other southern tribes in a like manner.

As the Yuchi material appears to belong so inseparably to the general type of mythology of the Southeast as a whole, we shall deal in brief with the whole region instead of with the Yuchi alone. Such a thing as exclusively pure Yuchi mythology, I fear, could not truthfully be spoken of nowadays, since borrowing has gone on so extensively. A few cognates of the myths, found by collateral reading in the mythologies of other tribes, are given incidentally in footnotes. They do not represent any attempt to make a complete concordance.

Leaving the important myths relating to cosmogony, we find a great many myths relating to heroes, monsters, tricksters and other beings concerned with transformation in the Southeast, some elements of which are cognate with Algonkian and Iroquois myths, others with those of the Southwest. A general review of these myths from the Southeast brings out the following features and comparisons.

Stories of monsters clad in bone, stone, metal or scales are very characteristic of the region. The monster is usually a cannibal, and is finally slain by persons or beings who have learned the secret of its only vulnerable spot. The culture hero often appears as the slayer.[1] The account of the trickster who,

[1] Creek (Migration Leg. of Creeks, Gatschet, p. 248). Cherokee (Cher. Myths, Mooney, 19th Rep. Bur. Amer. Eth., pp. 319, 326, 311). Menomini (Menomini Inds., Hoffman, 14th Rep. Bur. Am. Eth., p. 229). Micmac (Alg. Leg. of N. E., Leland, p. 38). Wyandot (Wyandot Folk-Lore, Connelly, p. 91). Sarcee (J. A. F. L., Journal of American Folk-Lore. Vol. XVII, p. 181). Saulteaux and Cree (Alg. Ind. Tales, E. R. Young, p. 166). Dakota (Contr. to N. A. Ethn., Vol. IX, p. 101). Sia (11th Rep. Bur. Amer. Eth., Stevenson, p, 45). Jicarilla Apache (Amer. Anth., Vol. XI, p. 208). Wichita.

when invited to dine with a friend who produces food by miracles, is unable to imitate his host when he himself tries, is even more general and uniform.[2] Other elements of wide distribution are: The race between two rivals and the victory of the trickster by strategy.[3] The narrative of the men who travel to the spirit land to visit some deity for the purpose of obtaining a boon, upon the receipt of which one of them fails to heed certain restrictions, and suffers disastrous results.[4] The accepted type of what is now known as the magic flight or obstacle myth, with various modifications.[5] The stealing of fire by the culture hero, or an animal concourse (Cherokee), or Rabbit (Creek, Yuchi).[6] The dispute over day and night by the animals, and the introduction of day.[7] And lastly, for the present, the tar-man story, so common throughout western Africa and among the American negroes,[8] which tells of the capture of a rogue by setting a figure made of adhesive pitch, or other substances, where he must come into contact with it. The Jicarilla Apache version, though remote from the Southeast, is closely analogous to

[2] Creek (Tuggle, MS.). Cherokee (Mooney, p. 273). Thompson River (Teit, p. 40). Algonkin (Leland, p. 208–213). Jicarilla Apache (Russel, J. A. F. L., Vol. II, p. 265–66). Arapaho (Field Col. Mus., Vol. V, p. 116). Navaho (Mathews, p. 87). Micmac (Rand, p. 302-3). Chilcotin (Trad. of the Chilcotin, Farrand, p. 18). Biloxi (J. A. F. L., Vol. VI, p. 49). Wichita.

[3] Creek (Tuggle, MS.). Cherokee (Mooney, pp. 270, 290). Menomini, Saulteaux and Cree (Young, p. 246). Zuni (Cushing, Zuni Folk-Tales, p. 277). Arikara (Trad. of the Arikara, Dorsey, p. 143). Wichita.

[4] Creek, Cherokee (Mooney, p. 253–5). Menomini (Hoffman, p. 118). Thompson River (Teit, pp. 53, 85). Algonkin (Leland, p. 94). Saulteaux and Cree (Young, p. 244). Micmac (Rand, p. 233). Article in Amer. Anth., Dorsey, Vol. VI, p. 64. Omaha (Cont. to N. A. Eth., Vol. VI. p. 185–188). Shawnee (Gregg, Commerce of Prairies, Vol. II, p. 239–240). New Brunswick (Parkman, Jesuits in N. A.). Chinook, Wichita.

[5] Creek (Tuggle, MS.). Menomini (Hoffman, p. 188–9). Thompson River (Teit, p. 92). Passamaquoddy (Leland, p. 214). Navaho (Mathews, p. 102). Dakota (Riggs, p. 108, Vol. IX). General European distribution (Boas, J. A. F. L., Vol. 4, 1891, p. 19). Cree (Canadian Sav. Folk, MacLean, p. 71). Blackfoot (J. A. F. L., Vol. VI, p. 44). Mohegan (J. A. F. L., Vol. XVI, p. 104). Cheyenne (J. A. F. L., Vol. XVI, p. 108). Chippewyan (J. A. F. L., Vol. XVI, p. 80–84). Ojibway (Schoolcraft, Myth of Hiawatha, p. 249). Wichita.

[6] Creek (Tuggle, MS.). Jicarilla (Russel, p. 261). Cherokee (Mooney, p. 240). Menomini (Hoffman, p. 126). Saulteaux and Cree (Young, 96–105, 89–94). Nez Percés (J. A. F. L., Vol. 4, p. 327). Chilcotin (Memoirs Amer. Mus. Natl. Hist., Vol. IV). Tsimshian (Tsimshian Texts, Boas, p. 31). Maidu (Bull. Amer. Mus. Natl. Hist., Vol. XVII, Part II, p. 65).

[7] Cherokee (Mooney, p. 251). Thompson River (Teit, p. 61). Iroquois (Second Rep. Bur. Am. Eth., Smith).

[8] Africa (Ewe Speaking People, Ellis, p. 275; Yoruba Speaking People, Ellis, p. 252). Amer. Negro (Uncle Remus, Harris, p. 23). Angola (Chatelain, p. 183–9). Kaffir (Theal., p. 179). Louisiana (J. A. F. L. Memoirs, Vol. II, Fortier, p. 98). Bahama (J. A. F. L. Memoirs, Vol. III, Edwards, p. 73).

the latter account. In eastern Algonkian, Gluscap punishes a rogue, Pitcher, by causing him to stick to a tree by his back, and transforming him into a toad. Arapaho tradition tells of a child, born from the cut in a man's foot, being pursued by a buffalo who wants to marry her. She takes refuge in a hollow stump to which the buffalo sticks, when he strikes it with his head in trying to dislodge her. In Wichita, After-birth Boy and his brother lay on a stone which they find, and stick to it.[9]

There are a few more legends that deserve emphasizing in their connection with the Southeast. One of these is the migration legend, found in all branches of the Muskogi, the Yuchi and the Cherokee. Nearly all the Algonkian tribes have it, and the Plains tribes share it.[10]

The common element to the whole region is the eastward or westward journey of the soul and the obstacles it meets with. The most general type of obstacle is the cloud swaying at the end of the earth, where it and sky meet. This is the barrier to the spirit world, through which everyone desiring entrance to the spirit realm must pass.[11] Some of the transformations brought about by the animal creators of the Southeast are the procuring of land,[12] fire,[13] tobacco[14] and the bestowing of characteristics upon various beasts.

Lastly, mention need only be made of the almost universal occurrence, in North America, of the tradition which recounts the experiences of someone who fell into a trance, believed that he passed over to the spirit world where he saw the supreme deity, received a message from him to the people on earth and eventually returned to life, becoming a sort of prophet or messenger of the supreme deity. The myth explaining the origin of death, wherein death is introduced upon the earth through the mistake or disobedience of someone, or by mere chance, is also fairly typical of America.

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[9] Creek (Tuggle, MS.). Cherokee (Mooney, p. 271–2). Jicarilla Apache (Russel, J. A. F. L., Vol. II, p. 268). Algonkin (Leland, p. 48). Arapaho (Pub. of Field Col. Museum, Vol. V, p. 153). Wichita (J. A. F. L., Vol. XVII, p. 159). Biloxi (J. A. F. L., Vol. VI, p. 48). Osage (Traditions of the Osage, G. A. Dorsey, p. 24).

[10] Cherokee (Mooney, p. 391). Creek (Migration Legend, Gatschet). Choctaw, Chicasaw, Hitchiti (Gallatin, Synopsis of Ind. Tribes, Amer. Antiq. Soc., Vol. II, p. 100, 1836). Lenape (Brinton, The Lenape and their Legends, p. 138, 141-3). Tonkawa (Mooney, Harper's Mag., Aug., 1901). Kiowa (17th Rep. Bur. Amer. Eth., Part 1, p. 153). Sarcee (J. A. F. L., Vol. XVII, p. 180). Tuscarora (Legends of Iroquois, Elias Johnson, p. 43). Menomini (Hoffman, p. 217). Blackfoot (Amer. Anth., Vol. 5, p. 162). Nanticoke (Lenape and their Legends, p. 139). Shawnee (Gregg, Commerce of the Prairies, Vol. II, p. 256). Arikara (Trad. of Arikara, Dorsey, p. 31).

[11] Cherokee (Mooney, p. 255–6). Micmac (Rand, p. 233). Siouan (Amer. Anth., Vol. VI, p. 64, Dorsey). Iroquois (Amer. Anth., 1892, p. 344). Shawnee (Gregg, Commerce of Prairies, Vol. II, p. 239–40). New Brunswick (Parkman, Jesuits of N. A.). Thompson River (Teit, p. 85, 53). Menomini (Hoffman, p. 206). Tillamook (Boas, J. A. F. L., Vol. II, p. 30). Ottawa (Schoolcraft, p. 386). Wichita.

[12] Cherokee, Creek, Yuchi. [13] Creek, Yuchi, Cherokee Myths, p. 200. [14] Ibid., p. 254.

SUPPLEMENTARY MYTHS.

5. Origin of the Other Tribes, and a Chief's Visit to Receive the Creator's Prophecy.

Now the people had come upon the earth. The Shawnee came from above. The Creeks came from the ground. The Choctaw came from the water. The Yuchi came from the sun.

So *Gohäntoné* appointed a day for them to meet and mingle, because he thought at first that it would be better for them to do that. Accordingly they met at the place of sunrise, in the east, and mingled together in friendship. They smoked together and held a council. After considering, they concluded that it would be better for all if they did not mix up. And henceforth they separated, each tribe going its own way and living alone.

The Shawnee said, "Our name is Shawnee, and we'll go off by ourselves." So they went.

The Creeks said, "We are Muskogi, and we'll go off by ourselves."

The Choctaw said, "We're Choctaw." And they went away.

The Yuchi were there too, and they said, "Our name is Yuchi." And they in turn left. Each tribe selected its own place to live in, and went there.

Now after a while, when they had been separated some time, *Gohäntoné* thought the thing over and said,

"You have nothing. So I'll give you something. I'll give you all the earth."

Then he gave them the earth, and they scattered over it.

Now after a while *Gohäntoné* thought the matter over again. Then a Creek chief died. When the chief was dead he appeared before *Gohäntoné*, who said to him,

"This land belongs to you and your children forever. This land will be yours forever, but these whites who have just come will overwhelm you and inherit your land. They will increase and the Indian will decrease and at last die out. Then only white people will remain. But there will be terrible times."

So spoke *Gohäntoné* to the dead Creek chief. For four days he lay dead, then he came to life again. When he woke up he was well. He immediately called a great council. Shawnee, Choctaw, Creeks and Yuchi all assembled to hear him, and he told them all that he had seen and heard. He told them that the land would belong to the Indian forever, but the white man would overrun it. So the thing is coming to pass as *Gohäntoné* said.

6. Rabbit Steals Fire for the People.

In the beginning there was no fire on the earth, and there seemed to be no way to get it. Therefore, when the people wanted to eat flesh, they had to eat it raw. Finally the Rabbit said that he knew where fire was, and even said that he could get it. Then the people went into camp and took council. They decided to send Rabbit to get the fire that he spoke of.

"If you know where fire is, then go and get it," they said to him.

So Rabbit started out, and swam across the ocean, because he knew that fire was only to be had on the other side of the sea. The people over there were having an olden time dance, and when Rabbit appeared among them they said,

"Here is a man who belongs on the other side of the sea. So watch him well."

They selected four of their number to watch him. Now because Rabbit was such a good dancer, they soon chose him to lead them in one dance after another. So while he was leading they urged the four guardians of Rabbit to watch him very closely.

Now when Rabbit began to lead, he took a large shawl and wrapped it about his head and wound a number of berry leaves into it until the whole was very large. Then they danced very hard. But suddenly Rabbit picked up a coal from the fire and put it on his head among the berry leaves and ran away toward his own land. All the people started after him, but they could not catch him. He got safely over the sea with the burning coal, and was crossing a prairie near home when he dropped the coal, and the timber all about was set on fire. All the woods got on fire. The people ran out and secured the burning sticks and gave them to each family, so that they all could have fire. And it was never allowed to go out.

7. Rabbit Obtains Fire. (Second Version. Abstract.)

The Rabbit went across the ocean for fire and got in among people who were dancing. They were the people who possessed fire. He took some of the fire in his hand and jumping into the ocean swam across with it. When he had landed it began to rain, then he put the fire in a stump. When this took fire he scattered the burning pieces all around and the woods caught fire. From this the Indians got it.

8. Four Men Visit the Spirit Land to Recover Their Wives, and Death Originates.

Four Yuchi who had wives decided one day to kill them. So they killed the four women. "There is no such thing as death. So let us go and hunt them," said they.[1]

[1] The implication in this statement is that death was then non-existent.

Accordingly the four husbands set out to find their wives. They said, "Let us go where the Creator is." They set out westward and traveled a long while, coming at length to a place where there was a great cave. Before its mouth swayed a great cloud, in such a manner that they could not get by it or around it, for it was moving up and down. They saw that their journey would end here unless they could devise some means of passing the cloud. It was decided that they imitate something very swift and get in in that way. Said one of the men, "I'll be a deer." So he became a deer, and when the cloud raised up the next time, he jumped in. The next said, "I'll be a panther." And when the cloud raised up, he jumped in. The third man said, "I'll be a bear." And the next time the cloud raised up, he too jumped in. They had all jumped at the right time, and had succeeded. Now the fourth man said, "I am a man, and I'll be a man." And when he tried to get in, the cloud fell on his head and crushed him.

Then the three men who had reached the inside of the cave took their natural shape as men, and began to climb up the back of the cloud within the cave. After they had been some time climbing, they came to a wonderful scene, and as they went on they beheld an old woman seated there. The old woman was the sun. When she saw them she spoke to them.

"My sons, are you come. Are you not hungry?"

And the men said that they were hungry. Accordingly she planted a hill of corn, a hill of beans, and a hill of squash for each man. Now when they saw her doing this, they thought, "Well, as we are so hungry shall we have to wait for these things to grow before we can eat?" But the old woman knew their thoughts, and replied as though they had spoken out loud. She said,

"You think you won't eat very soon, but you won't have long to wait."

Even then the plants began to sprout and grow up, and soon they fruited, and it was not long before they gathered the corn, beans and squashes, and were ready to eat. The old woman then put a small quantity of the vegetables before each man. But they said, "Do you think that that little will fill us?" In reply, she said to them, "There will be some left over."

When they had finished eating, it was as she had said. There was some left over. Now the old woman spoke to the men again.

"What did you come here for? What do you want?" she asked them.

"We had four wives who are dead. We lost them, and they told us to hunt for them. So we are here."

"Well, they are here," said the old woman, "we are going to have an all-night dance, and the women will be there. Then you will see them."

Now the men were deciding whether to stay for the dance, or to go on. And while they were thinking over it, a panther monster came up, and they were very much afraid. But as soon as they saw him, the old woman lifted up her dress and told the men to come and get beneath it; they went under and

she protected them. When the great monster came near, he said to her, "I smell people." But the old woman said, "You smell me." The monster was deceived and went away. Then when it became time the men went to the dance. They arrived at the place where they were dancing, and the men could hear the dance but they couldn't see anything. They said to the old woman,

"We can hear, but we cannot see. So give us a sign so that we may know that our wives are here."

Then the old woman got a coal from the fire and put it on the hip of one of the women who was now dancing with the rest. She did the same with each woman until the four had coals of fire on their hips. Now all that the men could see was the coal, when the women were dancing. But they stayed there watching. Soon the old woman said to them,

"If you cannot see, lay down and go to sleep."

So they did as they were told, and went to sleep. The old woman left them, and getting four large gourds, made holes in them and put one woman in each gourd. Then she carried the gourds to where the men were, and woke them up, saying, "Here are your women." She laid the gourds down, one near each man, and said,

"Now lie down and sleep again. When you wake up you will be back on earth. But when you wake up, don't open the gourds." She told them, "When you get back to your people, go to a dance and take these gourds with you."

Then they went to sleep again, and after a while woke up. They were back on the earth. They went on until they reached their people. But on the way, one of the men became impatient, and opened his gourd. Immediately a great wind came out and went up in the air. So the other three kept theirs and didn't open them. At last they reached their own land. When the time for a dance came around they took their gourds with them. While they were dancing they hit their gourds on the ground and broke them. The women jumped out and joined them in the dance. But the man who broke his beforehand, when he saw the other women restored to their men, wept. Now that's the way it was done.

The three who had done as the old woman told them, had a good time and were afterwards called by the others, "the people hunters." They were considered to be very wise, and in a short time they all became great chiefs and councillors in their tribe.

9. Tobacco Originates from Semen.

A man and a woman went into the woods. The man had intercourse with the woman and the semen fell upon the ground. From that time they separated, each going his own way. But after a while the woman passed near

the place again, and thinking to revisit the spot, went there and beheld some strange weeds growing upon it. She watched them a long while. Soon she met the man who had been with her, and said to him, "Let us go to the place and I will show you something beautiful." They went there and saw it. She asked him what name to call the weeds, and he asked her what name she would give them. But neither of them would give a name. Now the woman had a fatherless boy, and she went and told the boy that she had something beautiful. She said, "Let us go and see it."

When they arrived at the place she said to him, "This is the thing that I was telling you about." And the boy at once began to examine it. After a little while he said, "I'm going to name this." Then he named it, 'ī', 'tobacco.' He pulled up some of the weeds and carried them home carefully and planted them in a selected place. He nursed the plants and they grew and became ripe. Now they had a good odor and the boy began to chew the leaves. He found them very good, and in order to preserve the plants he saved the seeds when they were ripe. He showed the rest of the people how to use the tobacco, and from the seeds which he preserved, all got plants and raised the tobacco for themselves.

10. Wind Seeks His Lost Sons and Kills the Iron Monster.

The Wind came out of the east and was lying somewhere, they say. He had four young men; they were his sons. One of them once said, "Let us go and look at the earth." That's why they went, and they haven't come back yet. So the young man went west and was gone a long time; he has never come back. Soon after, the second young man went and did not come back. Then the third young man went and he did not come back. None of them came back.

Now the Wind said, "I will go myself." He prepared and got everything ready. He told them to bring him a chair. They brought him a large terrapin. Then he ordered his pipe, telling them to bring him a bullfrog. Then he called for his pipe-stem. They brought a kind of snake and made a pipe-stem. He told them to get his tobacco. They brought him snake dung for tobacco. He told them to get his ammunition bag. They got him another snake for the ammunition bag. And when he told them to bring a belt for the ammunition bag, they brought him a bullsnake's hide for that. Then the Wind was ready.

He got up and started toward the west, the way the young men had gone before him. He followed their trail, traveling a long while, and at last came to a creek. Across the creek on the opposite bank he saw a white rooster. A short distance back there was a house. Now when the rooster saw him it flew over and alighted on the roof of the house. Then someone came out and crossed the creek in a little boat to meet him. Then the man in the boat told Wind to get in with him and go across. But Wind said that he had his own way to get across. So he put the terrapin in the creek and got on his back

and the terrapin carried him across. Then they went on and soon reached the house. When Wind got to the house, the man gave him a chair and told him to sit down. Wind said that he had his own chair. He took the terrapin and sat down on him. The man then asked Wind to smoke with him. Wind said that he was willing, but that he had his own tobacco. And taking the snake dung, he put it in the frog's mouth, filling it up.

"Now all that I need is a little fire to light my tobacco with," said Wind. But he had his own fire. Taking the joint snake he had with him he struck a fire, and soon had a light for his pipe. He lighted it in that way. Then taking the other snake which was the pipe-stem, he inserted this in the frog's anus. So the pipe was finished, and in that way Wind could smoke with his host.

Now the owner of the house was a bad man; a man who could not be killed. He was made of iron. So he was Iron Man. Wind knew all about that, and he even knew that Iron Man had killed his four young men. Then Wind decided to kill him. When he smoked, he drew in a great deal of smoke and blew it on Iron Man. And that is the way he killed him. When Iron Man was dead, his wife came up and said to Wind,

"You killed my man. Let's marry."

But Wind said that he would not. He asked her where his four young men were and what had become of them. Then she told him all about them. She told him to go where he would find a certain dead tree near the water. She told him that if he would go and cut this tree down and throw it in the water, the four young men would come up from it. Then she guided Wind to the tree and said to him, "Cut it down." She got an axe and Wind cut the tree down. Then he threw it in the water as Iron Man's wife had told him. And the four young men came out of the water. When they stood on the ground they all looked black. They recognized Wind, but they told him that they were not under his control any longer. "Well, I'll make something different out of you, then," he said to them. Then one of the young men said, "What shall I be?" But Wind did not answer him, for that.

"I'll be a wolf," said the second. So the Wind told him to go into the woods, and he went.

Wind asked the third what he would be. "I'll be a crow," said he. Then Wind asked the fourth what he would be. "I'll be a raven," said the fourth young man. Wind told him to go into the forest. Now the first young man who had spoken too soon was the only one left. And Wind said to him, "What will you be?" "I'll be a dog," said he. "Well, you go and stay with the wolf," said Wind to him. And he went.

Now Wind was through with the young men. He said, "Some day I will go back where I came from. As I go I'll leave nothing in my way."

Wind has never come back; he is there yet. But some day he will come. That is what the old Yuchi say.

11. The Lost Yuchi.

They say the Yuchi all lived together in the old days. They had a dance, and while they were dancing, a quarrel arose among them. Some of them had bear hides upon their backs, and the rest were dancing with wildcat skins. The people who wore the bear hides then departed. They went west, over the great mountains. The others who had the wildcat skins remained. All the Yuchi here are the wildcat hide people. But what became of the bear hide people no one knows. They are both Yuchi but they cannot find each other.

12. Origin of Thunder and Lightning.

There is a great being, whose name is *Ko^{n}sáno^{n}wī*. He rides over the seas upon a great blacksnake. When he goes in and out of the water, there is a great noise. That is the thunder. Sometimes the great snake shakes his tail, and that is what makes the lightning. But that is another story.

13. Why the Cedar Tree is Red-Grained[1], and How the Sun Was Rescued from a Sorcerer.

An unknown mysterious being once came down upon the earth and met people there, who were the ancestors of the Yuchi Indians. To them this being taught many of the arts of life, and in matters of religion admonished them to call the sun their mother as a matter of worship. Every morning the sun, after rising above the horizon, makes short stops, and then goes faster until it reaches the noon point. So the Unknown inquired of them what was the matter with the sun. They denied having any knowledge about it, and said, "Somebody has to go there to see and examine." "Who would go there, and what could he do after he gets there?" The people said, "We are afraid to go up there." But the Unknown selected two men to make the ascent, gave to each a club, and instructed them that as soon as the wizard who was playing these tricks on the sun was leaving his cavern in the earth and appeared on the surface they should kill him on the spot. "It is a wizard who causes the sun to go so fast in the morning, for at sunrise he makes dashes at it, and the sun, being afraid of him, tries to flee from his presence." The two brave men went to the rising place of the sun to watch the orifice from which the sun emerges. The wizard appeared at the mouth of the cave, and at the same time the sun was to rise from another orifice beyond it. The wizard watched for the fiery disk and put himself in position to rush and jump at it at the moment of its appearance. When the wizard held up his head the two men knocked it off from his body with their clubs, took it to their tribe, and proclaimed that they

[1] From A. S. Gatschet, Some Mythic Stories of the Yuchi Indians, American Anthropologist, Vol. VI, p. 281.

had killed the sorcerer who had for so long a time urged the sun to a quicker motion. But the wizard's head was not dead yet. It was stirring and moving about, and to stop this the man of mysterious origin advised the people to tie the head on the uppermost limbs of a tree. They did so, and on the next morning the head fell to the ground, for it was not dead yet. He then ordered them to tie the head to another tree. It still lived and fell to the ground the next day. To insure success, the Unknown then made them tie it to a red cedar tree. There it remained, and its life became extinct. The blood of the head ran through the cedar. Henceforth the grain of the wood assumed a reddish color, and the cedar tree became a medicine tree.[1]

14. The Origin of the White People and Their First Appearance to the Yuchi.

It was out upon the ocean. Some sea-foam formed against a big log floating there. Then a person emerged from the sea-foam and crawled out upon the log. He was seen sitting there. Another person crawled up, on the other side of the log. It was a woman. They were whites. Soon the Indians saw them, and at first thought that they were sea-gulls, and they said among themselves, "Are not they white people?" Then they made a boat and went out to look at the strangers more closely.

Later on the whites were seen in their house-boat. Then they disappeared.

In about a year they returned, and there were a great many of them. The Indians talked to them but they could not understand each other. Then the whites left.

But they came back in another year with a great many ships. They approached the Indians and asked if they could come ashore. They said, "Yes." So the whites landed, but they seemed to be afraid to walk much on the water. They went away again over the sea.

This time they were gone a shorter time; only three months passed and they came again. They had a box with them and asked the Indians for some earth to fill it. It was given to them as they desired. The first time they asked they had a square box, and when that was filled they brought a big shallow box. They filled this one too. Earth was put in them and when they were carried aboard the ship the white men planted seed in them and many things were raised. After they had taken away the shallow box, the whites came back and told the Indians that their land was very strong and fertile. So they asked the Indians to give them a portion of it that they might live on it. The Indians agreed to do it, the whites came to the shore, and they have lived there ever since.

[1] Cedar wood is always used in the manufacture of the flageolet (see Music) and cedar leaves are important agents in the medicinal practice (*q. v.*).

15. The Wolves Kill the Terrapin and Give the Terrapin Red Eyes.

The Terrapin was lying in a hollow. A Wolf came near and stood on the slope above the Terrapin. The Terrapin soon began to revile the Wolf, calling him bad names. Now the Wolf became very angry and straightway called his friends to help him punish the Terrapin. They gave chase and the Terrapin was compelled to crawl into a hollow log. They soon managed to get her out of this, but she got away and climbed up a grapevine into a tree. The wolves searched for her and at last saw her shadow. But they did not see where the Terrapin was, until afterwards. Then they began shooting at her and finally killed her with the old arrows which they picked up. The Wolf who was at the head of them told them what to do. So they tore her up. Then he took her head and held it up and asked who would eat it. The one whom he asked would not eat it. He said, "No! I will not eat it; it would give me a headache and kill me." He offered it to another one, and received the same answer. Each time he offered it to a wolf it was refused, and he could get no one to eat the Terrapin's head. Then the Wolf became very angry and took some of the blood and threw it in the eyes of the young terrapins who were standing around. That is why all terrapins have red eyes.

16. The Heron Outwits the Parrot.

The Parrot and the Heron were friends. They met one day and the Parrot asked the Heron to come over and visit him. The Heron was willing, so one day he went over to pay his visit. The Parrot was going to have dinner for him. When the food was ready, the Parrot put a flat dish full of it before the Heron and told him to eat away. But the dish was so flat that he could not get any of the food into his mouth. After trying a number of times he gave it up and decided to go home hungry. But before he left he asked the Parrot to come over and have dinner with him soon. Then he left.

Before long the Parrot went to dine with the Heron. The Heron had things ready and when they thought it time to eat, he got out his dinner. But now his dinner was in a high deep pot. This was all right for the Heron, but the Parrot could not get his bill near the food, because the pot was too deep. So he had to go home hungry himself, just as the Heron had to when he visited him. He was disappointed.

17. Rabbit Outwits Wolf and Steals Pigs.

The Rabbit and the Wolf were friends. One day the Rabbit said to the Wolf, "There are some fine pigs in a certain pen. I always kill and eat some. Let us go and get some now." So the Wolf agreed and they went to the place where some one had some fine hogs. "Now," said Rabbit to the Wolf, "you are the largest. You jump over the fence and knock one on the head and

kill him. Throw him over the fence. You are the larger. You carry him and go on home and I will watch." The Wolf jumped over and got a good hog. He dragged him over the fence and started to carry him home. But the Rabbit had gone and cut a big pole. When the Wolf came along, Rabbit ran around his head and hit him with the pole. Then the Wolf dropped the hog and made off for home as fast as he could. He was struck hard, for he never looked back to see what it was. Now the Rabbit took the hog and carried it home with him. All night he roasted meat and had a good time.

Then he thought, "I have hit my good friend, I must go and see him." He laughed a great deal. Then he went to the Wolf's house to see him. "What was the matter with you?" he asked him. "They whipped me," said the Wolf. "Yes, I heard you making a din and I ran off," said Rabbit.

18. Rabbit and Wolf Go Courting.

The Rabbit and the Wolf were fond of two girls. But the girls would often make fun of the Rabbit because he was smaller and weaker than the Wolf. "Well, I am smarter than Wolf, and you will see," said he at last.

Soon he met the Wolf, who was on his way to the girls' house. The Wolf wanted company so he asked Rabbit to go with him. "No," said Rabbit, "I am too tired." "Well, never mind, get up on my back and ride," the Wolf told him. Then the Rabbit agreed, and mounted the Wolf's back. "But you must go slowly. I am sore," he said. Soon they arrive at the house. "Now, I'll go and knock on the door, you wait here," said the Rabbit. Then he knocks on the door, and when the girls come, he says to them, "See the Wolf hitched out there. He is my horse. I'll drive him in." Then he goes out and tells the Wolf that the girls are ready and want to see them. He mounts the Wolf's back again. Then he digs his spurs into the Wolf and whips him up. They dash through the door, and almost break down the house. "See! I told you so," shouted the Rabbit as he rushed by the frightened girls.

19. The Rabbit is Trapped by the Tar-man, and Escapes.

Now the Rabbit used to steal beans from a certain man. He would go to the place where the beans were kept, during the night, and steal as many as he needed. The man made up his mind to catch the Rabbit. So he got some tar (*yasocī'*, 'pine drops,') and made a little man out of it. He put a stick in its hand and laid it near where the beans were the next night. Again the Rabbit went to steal beans. But when he got to the place and saw the tar-man there with a stick, he became angry, and told the little man that if he did not drop the stick, he would kick him. Then he kicked him, but his foot stuck to the tar-man, and Rabbit then told him that, unless he let go, he would kick him again. So he kicked him again, and that foot, too, got stuck. Then Rabbit

told him that, if he did not let go now, he would hit him. Then he hit the little man and his hand stuck where he hit the tar. Rabbit then told him the same thing as before, and when he hit him with the other hand that stuck too. So the Rabbit was well trapped.

In the morning the owner of the beans came to see what had happened. He laughed when he saw Rabbit caught there, and got everything ready to loosen the Rabbit and put him in a box. But Rabbit escaped from the man and ran away. Then the man put the tar-man among the beans again. Before many nights had passed Rabbit came again for beans, and the same thing happened as before. Rabbit quarreled with the tar-man and soon was trapped hand and foot. Now this time the owner of the beans came and when he found Rabbit caught again he made sure that he would not escape. He got him safely in a box, and said, "To-morrow I'll throw you in the river." He left Rabbit all night. Now before the time came for the man to throw him into the river, Rabbit was determined to escape.

The man's son was playing around near the box where Rabbit was, and soon Rabbit said to him, "Let me out, and you get in here; they are going to throw me into the river." So the boy did open the box and got in himself. Then the Rabbit ran away. The man threw the boy into the river. That was his son, but he did not know it.

20. The Rabbit Visits the Bear and Fails to Imitate Him.

The Bear and the Rabbit were friends. The Rabbit went to visit the Bear and to have dinner with him. Before they were ready to eat, the Bear went upstairs and cut some fat from his entrails. Then he cooked it with the beans. The dinner was very good, and Rabbit thought about it and made up his mind to do the same as the Bear when he wanted to have a fine dinner. Then the Rabbit told the Bear to come to see him. Said he, "I live in the raspberry patch. You must come to dinner."

Soon the Bear went over to the Rabbit's house and visited him. Before dinner the Rabbit went upstairs to cut some fat from his entrails. But when he cut his entrails he was hurt, and the pain was so great that he made a great uproar. The Bear ran upstairs to see what was the matter, and found that Rabbit had cut his entrails. "Now," said the Bear, "I'll show you how to do that." And he cut some fat from himself and cooked it with the beans that Rabbit had prepared. Then they had their dinner. The Bear thought about it and went home laughing.

21. Wildcat Feigns Death and Deceives the Rabbit.

The Wildcat was lying in a shady place in the woods. They thought he was asleep. The Rabbit came that way and found him lying there. So he

called the Turkeys and told them that the Wildcat was dead and lying not far away. They assembled and made ready for a good time. A rattle was brought and they began to dance, round and round the Wildcat. Then they thought they might as well eat him. But suddenly the Wildcat jumped up among them. He caught the Rabbit and a fat Turkey.

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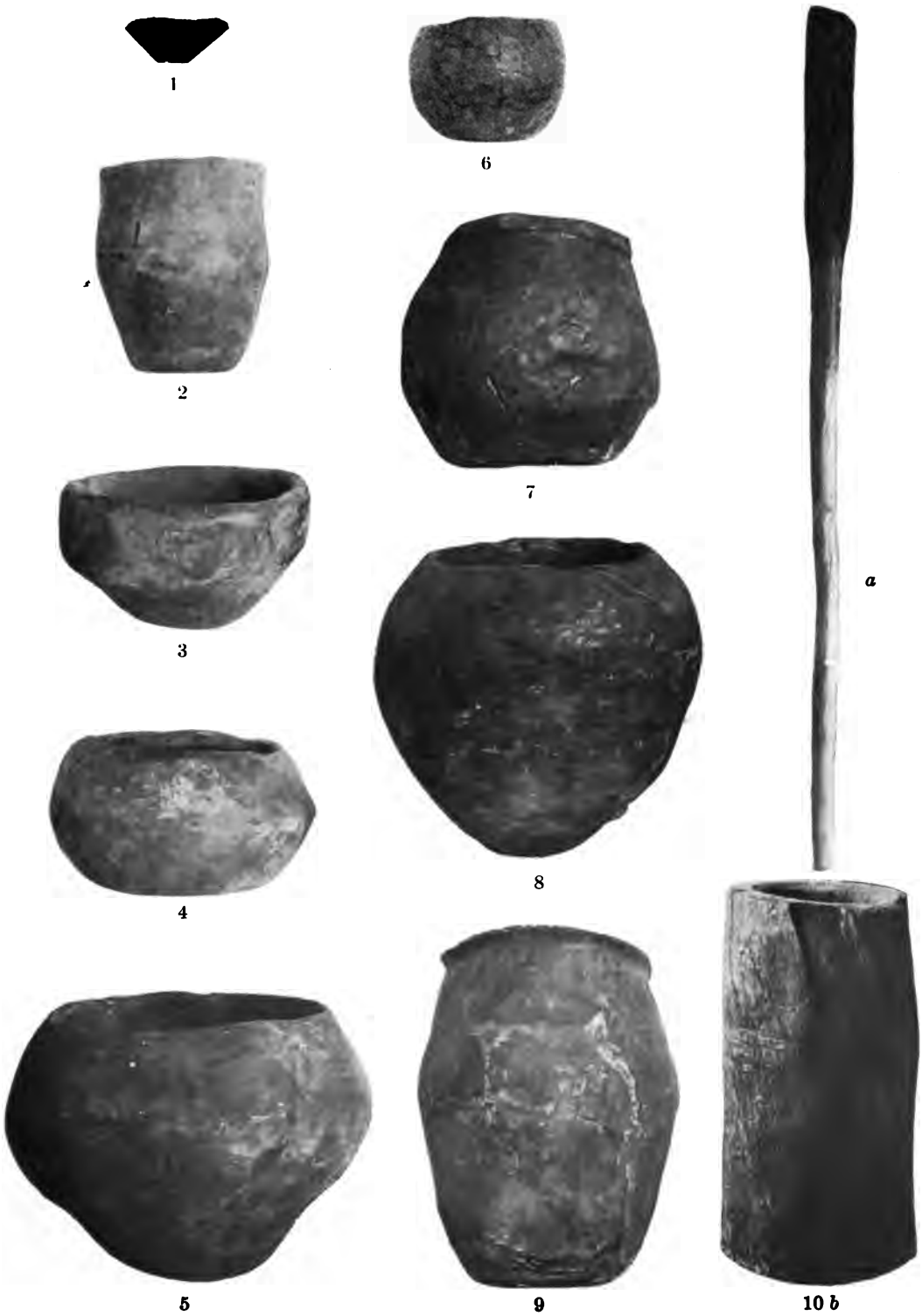
PORTRAITS OF YUCHI MEN AND WOMEN (FULL FACE AND PROFILE).



TYPES OF YUCHI POTTERY, MORTAR AND PESTLE.

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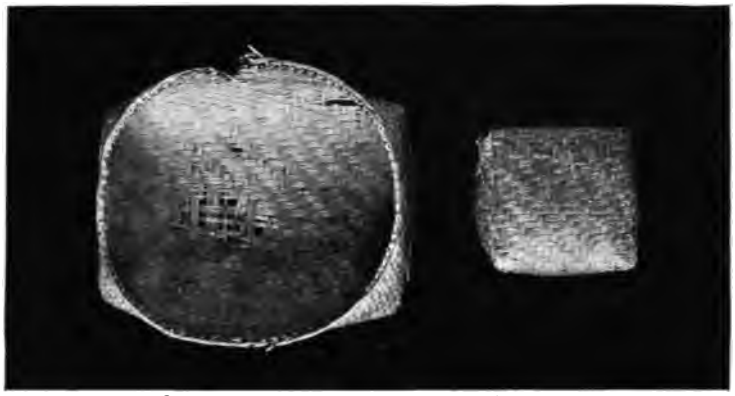

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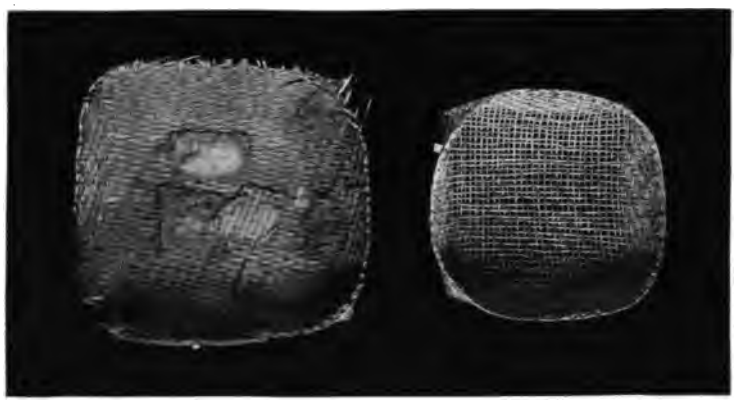

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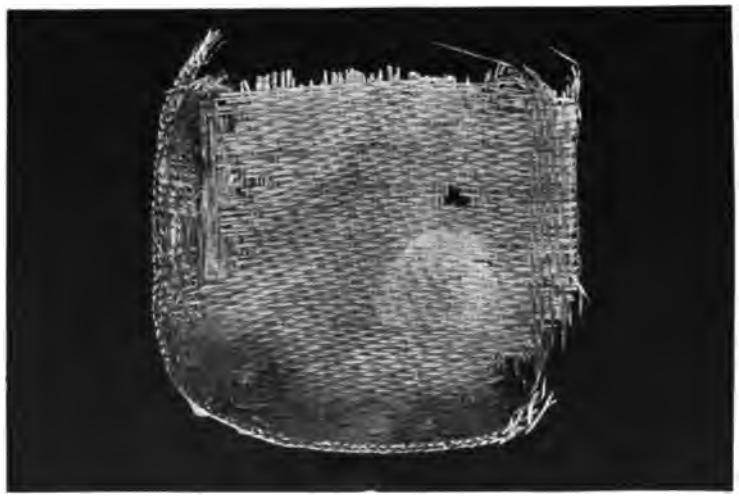

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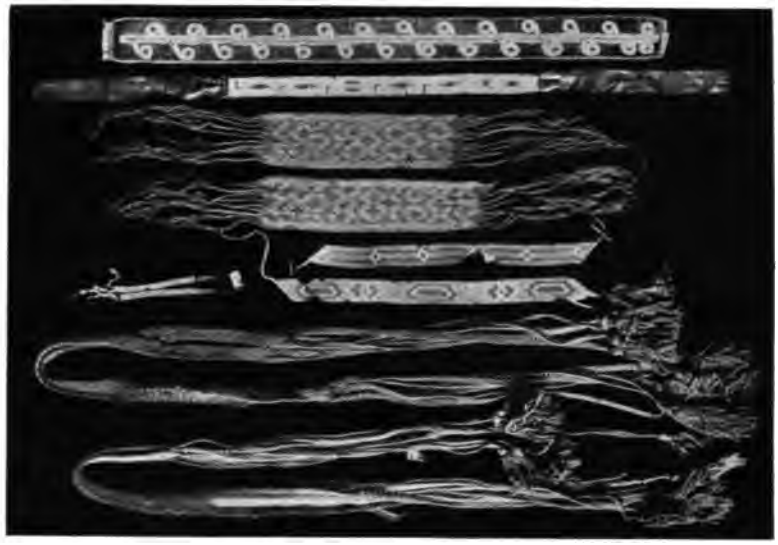
TYPES OF YUCHI BASKETRY.

Buckskin Coat (Cherokee).

Breechcloth, Leggings, Moccasins and Sashes.

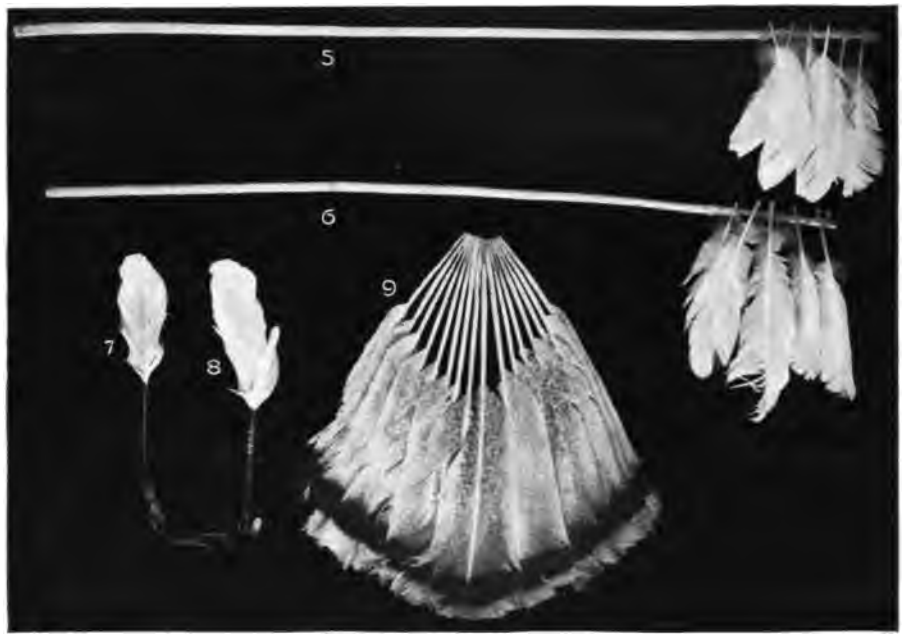


SASHES, GARTERS AND NECKBANDS

BALL STICKS AND BALL.

SPOONS AND LADLES.

MEDICINE PIPE, FLAGEOLET AND RATTLES.



DANCE WANDS, FEATHER TREMBLERS AND FAN.

TORTOISE SHELL LEG RATTLES.

YUCHI BEADWORK DESIGNS. (See page 56.)

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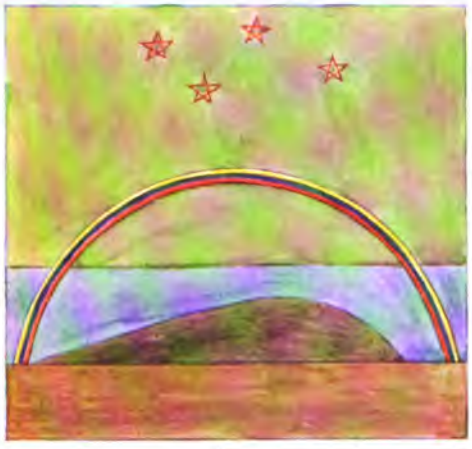

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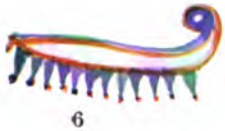

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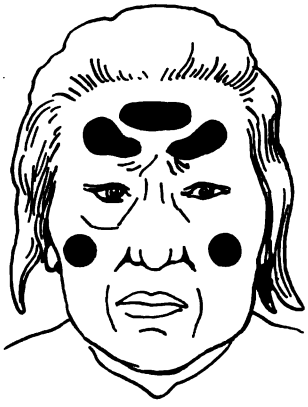

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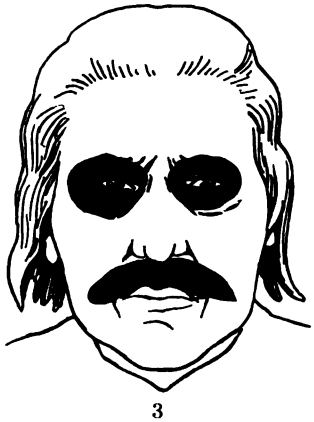

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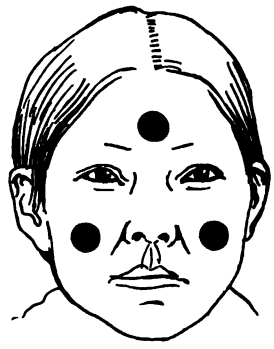

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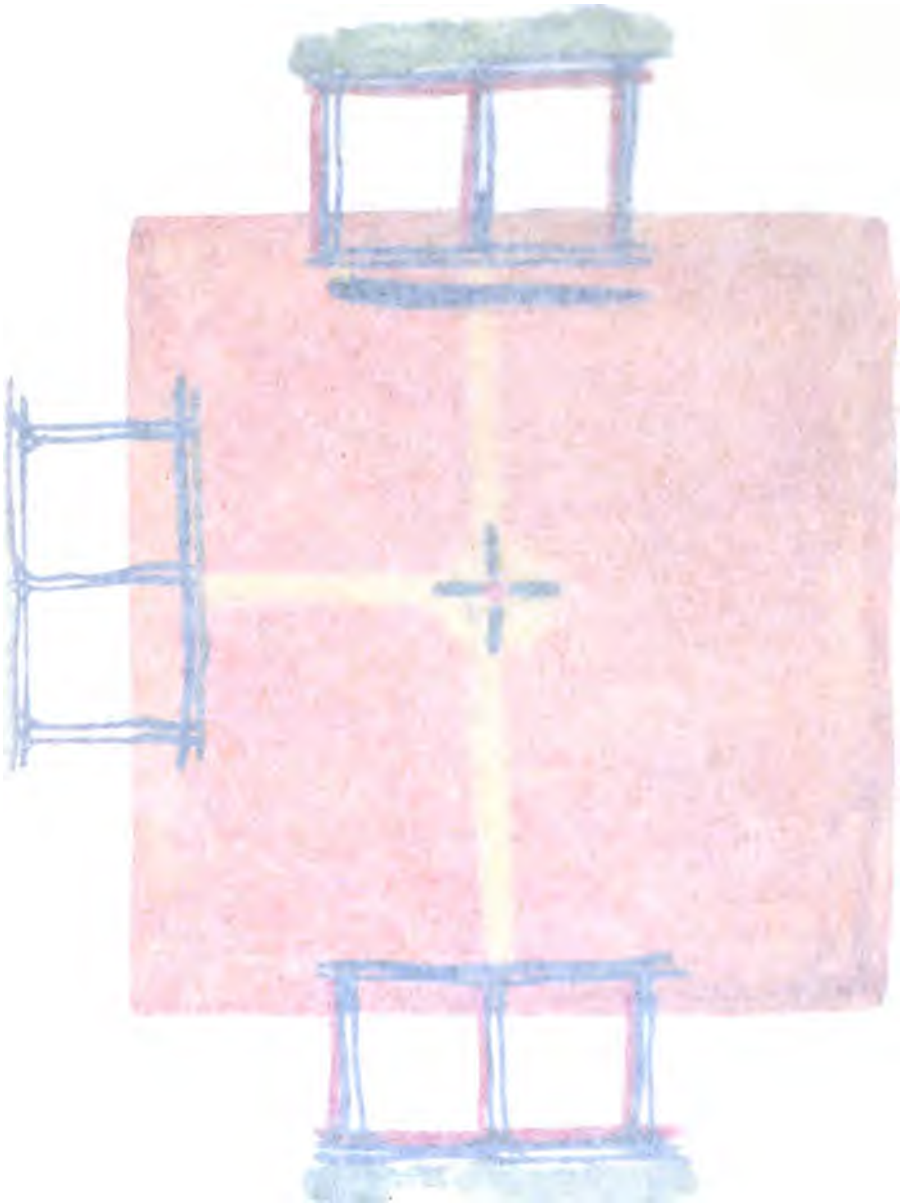

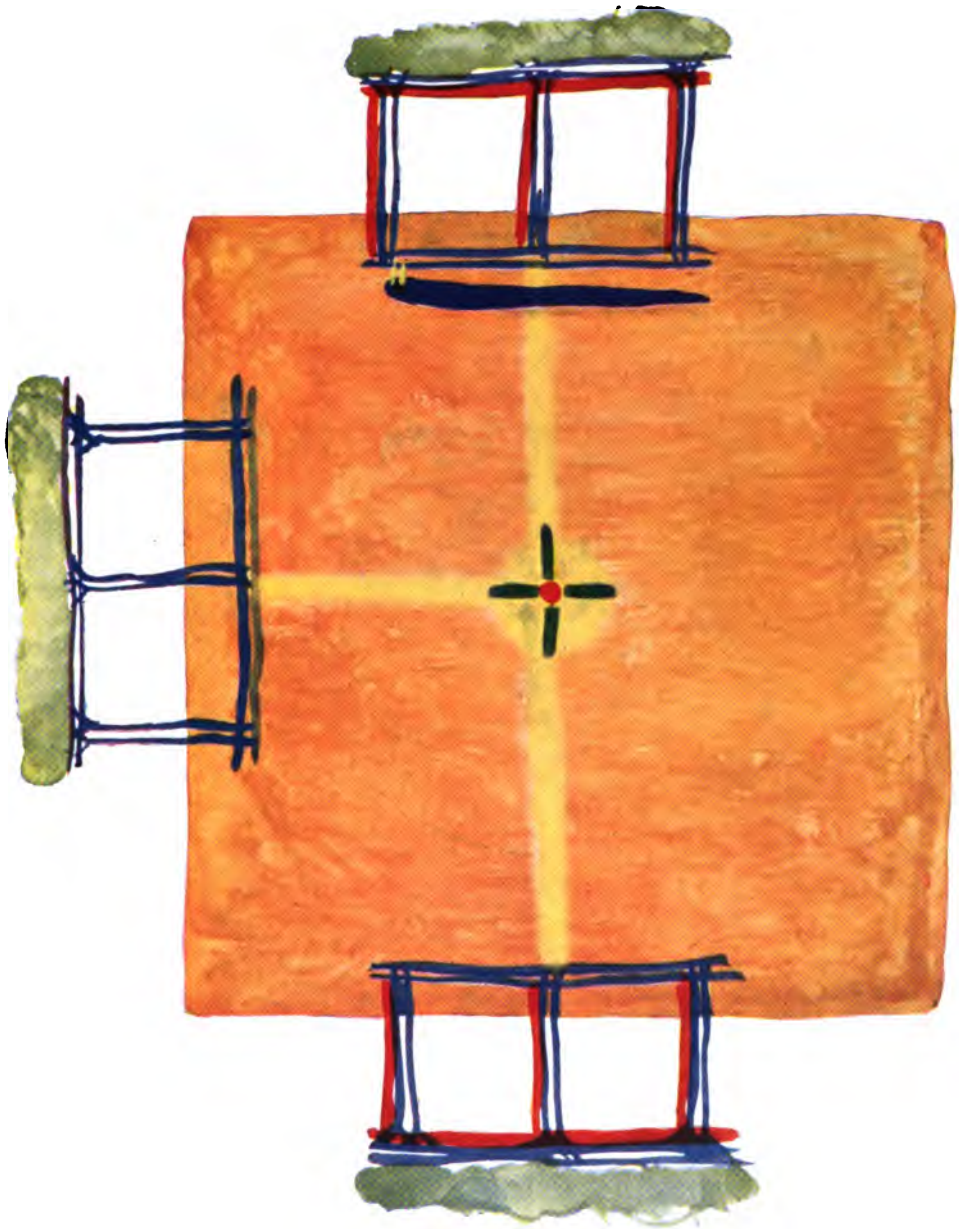

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2. Big Turtle Dance. First Night, Annual Ceremony.

1. New Fire Rite. Second Day, Annual Ceremony.

2. Officials Preparing Medicine Plants. Second Day, Annual Ceremony.

1. THE SCRATCHING OPERATION. SECOND DAY, ANNUAL CEREMONY.

2. THE SCRATCHING OPERATION CONCLUDED. SECOND DAY, ANNUAL CEREMONY.

1. THE RITE OF THE EMETIC. SECOND DAY, ANNUAL CEREMONY.

2. THE RITE OF THE EMETIC CONCLUDED. SECOND DAY, ANNUAL CEREMONY.

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SCENES AT THE BALL GAME. SECOND DAY, ANNUAL CEREMONY.

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VOL. I NO. 2

CEREMONIAL SONGS OF THE CREEK AND YUCHI INDIANS

BY

FRANK G. SPECK

WITH MUSIC TRANSCRIBED BY
JACOB D. SAPIR

PHILADELPHIA
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1911

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INTRODUCTION

The investigations described in the introduction to the first part of this volume included the work of collecting dance and medicine songs. The greater part of these came from the Creeks of Taskigi town, one of the tribal subdivisions of the Creek Nation. A smaller number of songs were obtained from the Yuchi.

Frequent reference will be made in the following pages to the account of the Yuchi in Part I of this volume. Reference will also be made to an account of the Creeks by the author, published in the Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association, Vol. 2, No. 2. The last named paper will be designated M. A. A. A.

The Creek songs were all sung by *Kabítcimála*, "Raccoon Leader" (the late Laslie Cloud), a prominent leader and shaman; the Yuchi songs by *Fago$^{e}o^{n}wī'$* "Comes out of the thicket," *Kūba* "Creek Indian," *Ekīlané* "It has left me," and Jim Tiger. A few Shawnee love songs, obtained incidentally from Charley Wilson, who belongs to the small band of Shawnees who consort with the Yuchi, have been included. The songs were all recorded on the phonograph, the syllables and texts being taken down independently with accompanying explanations at the time when they were sung.

Mr. Jacob D. Sapir is responsible for the transcriptions. The phonograph records are the property of the American Museum of Natural History, New York. No attempt is made to discuss the internal qualities or comparative characteristics of the music itself, our purpose being merely to assemble the material for someone else to study. The transcriber, however, from considerable acquaintance with them, feels that the Creek songs possess a strength and energy that is lacking in the Yuchi songs, while the latter are more harmonious to the European ear. The descriptions of many of the dances are based upon observation, the informants' data supplying the rest. These dance songs may be regarded as fairly complete for Taskigi town because Laslie Cloud was considered to be the best informed dance leader in the settlement. The same

may be said for the medicine songs and formulas, so far as one shaman is concerned, as they are secret individual property.

The sounds in Creek are represented by the following characters. Surd *tc*, like "ch" in English "church," and sonant *dj*, lingual alveolars, *dj* represents a sound about midway in position between English dz and dj; *b* is indeterminate between surd p and sonant b; *d* is also of the same indefinite nature and produced as an alveolar dental; *l* is a soft palatalized spirant surd; *g* a palatal sonant; *q* a velar surd; *ġ*, the corresponding sonant; *f* a normal labial dental surd; *c* like English sh; *l*, *m*, *n*, *s*, *k* are also like the English. Semi-vowels are *h*, *w*, *y*. Prolonged consonants are written doubled; *kk*, *tt*. Vowels ā, ē, ī, ō, ū are long, the unmarked short; *au*, *oi* diphthongs; ʌ is open and obscure like English "u" in "but;" *â* like "a" in English "all;" *ä* long and open like "a" in English "fare" without the "r" tinge; ⁿ denotes nasalization; ʿaspiration; ᵋ a glottal catch; ʹaccent, and ·, or ! lengthening of the vowel.

CREEK DANCE SONGS

The Creeks always hold their dances on what they call *djógo łákko* "house big," which refers to the town square, where formerly they had a large dance house. In later years, however, the dance house was abandoned and the open square ground with its four lodges or arbors now remains. The square-ground is a plot of smoothly scraped ground one hundred and fifty feet or so on each side. On each margin a few feet in is an arbor consisting of a roof of branches supported upon upright crotches with logs on the ground for seats. In each of the Creek towns the size of the arbors and details of structure differ. The square-ground is so situated that its sides face the points of the compass. This spot is the center of town life. The annual religious ceremonies, meetings and councils are held on it, each of the lodges being for people of different ranks and clans. A description and diagram of Taskigi town square, with which these ceremonies are concerned, has been given in M.A.A.A.,pp. 111-116. The dances invariably take place in the night-time, the dance ground being illuminated by a large fire which is kept burning near its center. Almost without exception the dancers circle about this fire contra-clockwise, the leader with his hand rattle at the head of a line of dancers comprising first men, then women, and lastly children who are learning. A drum beaten by a man, or perhaps two, in one of the lodges, usually the west, accompanies many of the performances. The steps employed are rather simple; each foot is alternately stamped, the whole dance being little more than a stamping shuffling trot with the body somewhat bent forward and the arm nearest the fire raised level with the head. The dancers vary this common posture with attempts to imitate the animal or object named in the dance according to their fancy. With the women, however, it is different. They reduce their movements to the minimum, merely shuffling along with their arms hanging at the side, without even singing. A dance is begun by the leader who starts walking around the fire alone, vibrating his rattle. As soon as he is joined by one or two comrades he begins the introduction to his song by shouting *yó hyo* and other syllables (see Crazy Dance No. 20. p. 190), which are repeated by the others. As soon as a sufficient number have joined in the leader starts with the song proper. The leader, who is either self-appointed or invited to lead by a chief, may choose whatever song he wishes, though of course he generally is expected to give a different one each time. For the purpose of teaching someone else the leading part he often takes a young man with him who is to try and follow, learning his part by heart.

No mnemonic records or tallies seem to have been known. The dances, as will be seen, embrace a number of independent songs between each of which the leader and chorus whoop and sometimes even break ranks to rest awhile. The repetitions indicated in the transcriptions are generally accidental, as the singer was limited often by the size of the phonograph cylinder. The number of repetitions is optional with the leader. In the song texts the italicized parts are sung by the chorus, the leader's part being left in ordinary type. It is, however, often very difficult to divide between where the leader stops and the chorus comes in, as the tendency is to merge one part into the other, the chorus taking their syllables, as it were, out of the leader's mouth. The more animated the dance becomes the more merged and rapid are the parts. The effect of this is, on the whole, very pleasing, bordering almost on harmony.

Something requires to be said about the use of the nonsense syllables so characteristic of Creek songs as well as those of American tribes in general. The whole subject of the significance and interpretation of the ideas associated with such syllables is one which has as yet hardly been touched upon, but which manifestly deserves attention. The idea seems to have been realized, but imperfectly understood by Miss Fletcher in her study of Pawnee songs.[1] Whether emotions, more or less definite, or ideas are associated with certain meaningless syllables in the mind of the singer or the performer it is impossible to determine in the case of the Creeks. I was first led to suspect some functional significance in them from the attitude of my informant when asked whether the syllables, which I was taking down at dictation, had any meaning. In nearly every case the answer was in the negative until in giving me *he le*, which is extremely common as a chorus response, he announced that *he le* was like *íli* 'foot,' stamping at the same time to indicate dancing. It would seem as though either through an original significance, or perhaps through mere secondary folk etymology, the dancers were shouting "foot! foot!" etc., while stamping and singing in response to their leader. Another instance of what may be taken as an example of some process of association, is to be found in the Buzzard Dance (p. 180) where the syllables *su lī wa ya* occur; *sulī* meaning buzzard. In some of the songs, as will be observed, word and idea fragments appear jumbled in with nonsense syllables. It is indeed difficult to imagine definitely whether they are the remains of a disintegrated ritual or whether they are mere secondary etymologies suggested by a chance similarity in sound to actual words. The question naturally arises in this connection, whether these syllables may not have traveled from some source in a region of complex ritual, where they might have either been actually mutilated discourse, or directly associated with special religious feelings. The problem may have to

[1] "The Hako Ceremony." Twenty-second Report Bureau of American Ethnology (1903).

be approached from the same point of view as that relating to the distribution of the conventional geometrical decorative designs, as outlined by Dr. Boas. It is possible that many of the song syllables may have had a historical background like the elements of decorative art which have become diffused from the Southwest over a large portion of North America.[1] Much more material, however, is required from different tribes before a comparative study can lead to satisfactory results. The similarities in performance details between some of the Creek dances and those of the Plains tribes is also a matter of some significance.

The Creeks attribute the origin of their dances and ceremonies to their culture hero *Hīsákidamíssī*, Master of Breath, who conditioned prosperity upon their continuance. Most of the dances are propitiatory, influencing the spirits of various animals and supernatural agencies which are capable of inflicting trouble. Some, however, are totemic. In these the members of the particular clan are supposed to be the chief participants, imitating by their behavior and gestures the clan animal. It is, nevertheless, considered an honor to the totem for outsiders to join in, and this is carried on to such a degree that the dances have lost all vestiges of esoterism if they ever possessed any.

Accompaniments to the dancing are furnished by two different instruments which are shared alike by both Creeks and Yuchi as well as by other southeastern tribes such as the Cherokee and Chickasaw. One is a large drum (Creek *tamamápka*, Yuchi *dīdanê*) made either of a pot containing water or a hollow tree section or bucket covered on one end with a piece of stretched hide. A smaller drum, *sapʌ'lka*, usually made of a small keg, is also used by the Creeks.[2] The hand rattle, needed in nearly every dance, (Creek *saúga*; Yuchi *tä^{n} bänê*) consists of a gourd, or more commonly nowadays a cocoanut shell, containing small white pebbles with a stick through it for a handle (Fig. 2). The common accompaniment to most of the dances with both rattle and drum is the double beat, i. e. two to the quarter. Another sort of rattle known among the southeastern tribes is one used only by women. This consists of from six to ten dried terrapin shells, with holes bored in them and pebbles inside, attached to a sheet of hide (Fig. 1, Yuchi *tsontä'*; Creek *lúdjasaúga*, "turtle rattle"). The women wear these, one tied to each leg on the outside below the knee. By a peculiar motion of the leg they produce a volume of sound from these rattles. Only one or two women wear them in a dance, their place being near the leader. A five-holed flageolet (Creek *fī'pa*, Yuchi *łokʌ^{n}'*) is also found among these tribes, but it is for playing love ditties or for amusement, having nothing to do with the dances. Samples of flageolet music have

[1] Practically the same syllables are, for instance, found in Penobscot, Malisit, and Micmac songs as in Creek and Yuchi.

[2] A small drum of this sort was used by Laslie Cloud while singing into the phonograph. Unfortunately the drumming did not reproduce. In the places where it could be heard the transcriber has noted it.

already been given.[1] The Creeks and Yuchi are extremely fond of music, fond of their dances, and take pride in executing them well, although the occasions for dancing were, when I last saw them, becoming fewer.

It should be noted, finally, that my remarks apply only to the Creeks of the Taskigi band, for I have as yet no means of knowing in how far the other settlements differ from them in details. Some few characteristics, as well as historical traditions, point to earlier affinities other than Muskogian for the Taskigi.[2]

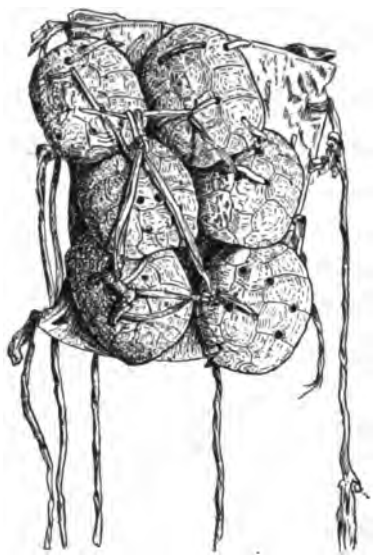
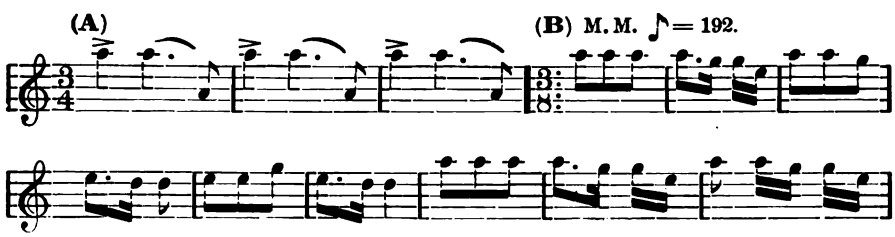


FIG. 1.—Shell Leg Rattles.

FIG. 2.—Hand Rattle.

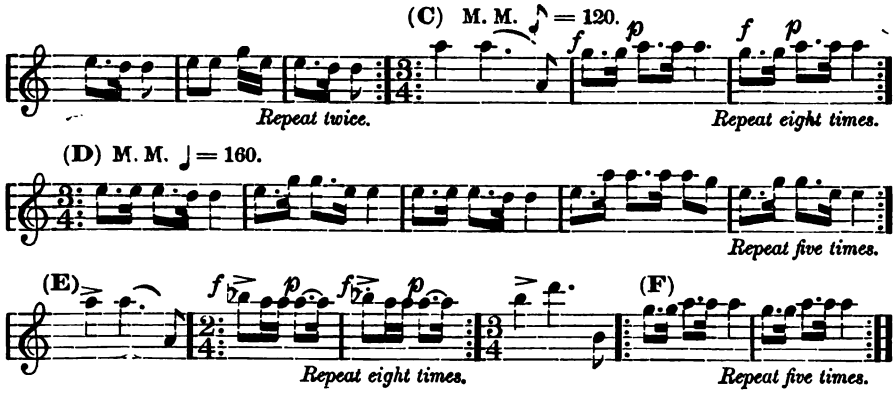
1. łáłoba'nga. FISH DANCE.

The fish, łáło, for his contribution of flesh to sustain life, is honored by a dance in which the usual movements are accompanied by drum and rattle. The leader's part could not be separated from that of the chorus in recording this song.



[1] See p. 63.

[2] The songs as taken from the records are all for male voices; when played on the piano an octave lower should be used. J. D. S.

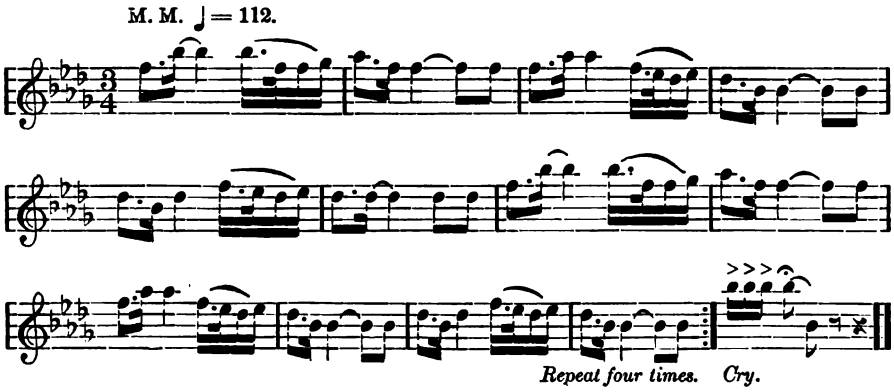


The burden is:

(A) Introduction: ye·"hye· (long cry repeated).
(B) hó ya le (ye·"hye· in last bar).
(C) á hya hó^{g}o^{g}ó^{g}ho, á ye·"he·"
(D) yá lī ha, hī yé^{g} e he, ho hī yé^{g} e he, (ye·"hye· in last bar).
(E) repeat (C).
(F) (do.)

2. Idīwíssībᴀ'nga. Leaf Dance.

Leaves, idīwíssī 'tree hair,' for their grateful shade and other benefits are placated by a dance which in most respects is quite like the others. The leader sings the following song to the accompaniment of the hand rattle. The participants wave their arms and hands extended at their sides imitating leaves blown by the wind.

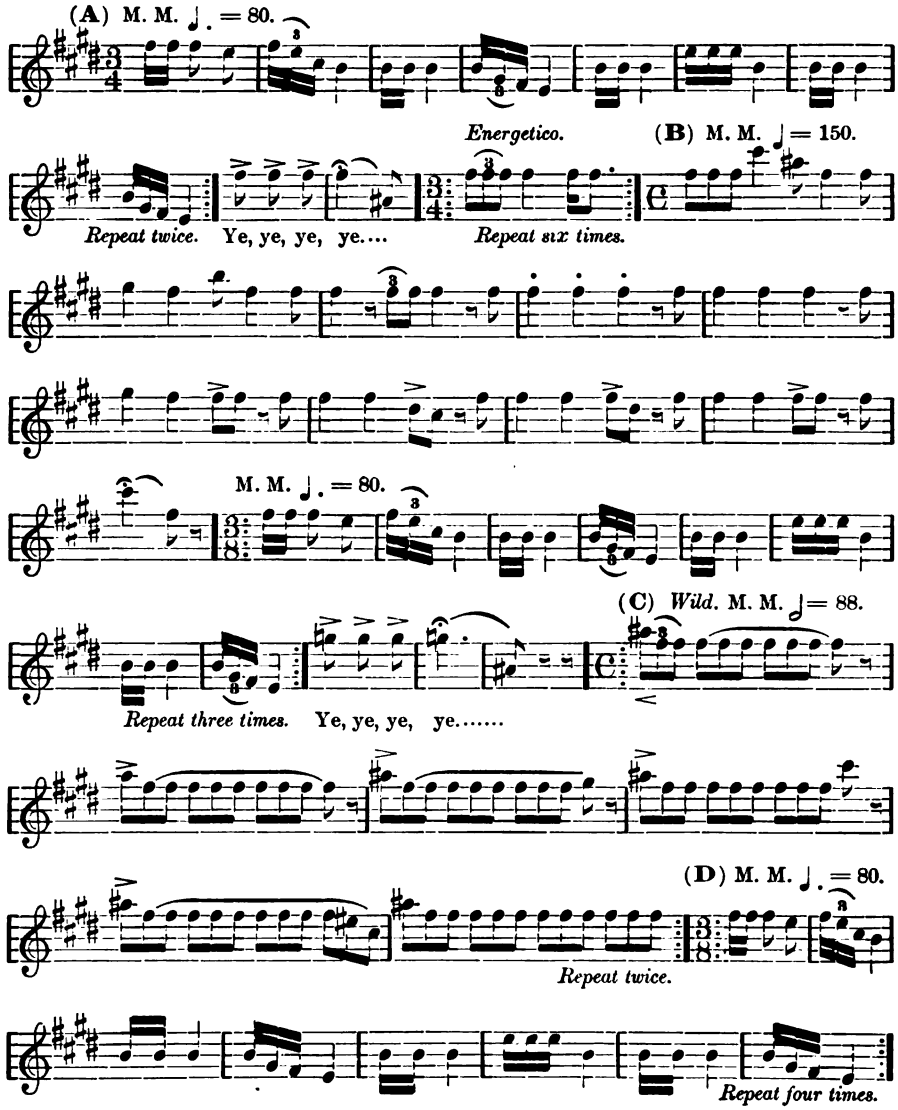


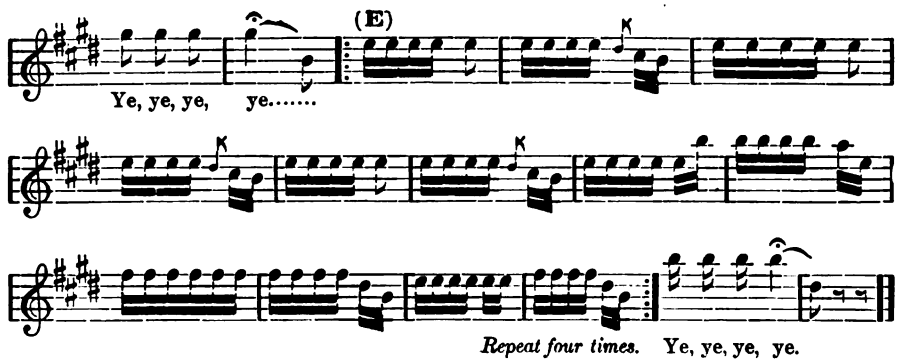
The syllables are:

gā' hyo nē·" *he* or
hé ga^{g}hyo nē' *he ya.*

The cry hó djī gē hyá ends each fourth repetition.

3. Halpa'dabanga. Alligator Dance.

The name of Inádabanga, Lizard Dance, was also given to this song. The alligator, halpa'da, is one of the totemic animals. The performers assumed a stooping posture and wobbled, grunting at intervals.

(A) M. M. ♩. = 80.
Energetico.
(B) M. M. ♩ = 150.
Repeat twice.
Ye, ye, ye, ye....
Repeat six times.
M. M. ♩. = 80.
(C) Wild. M. M. 𝅗𝅥 = 88.
Repeat three times.
Ye, ye, ye, ye.....
(D) M. M. ♩. = 80.
Repeat twice.
Repeat four times.



The syllable burdens are quite variable, each verse ending with yells, ye ye ye, etc.

(A) yá li he ho yá^{g} lī *he ya*. (The last syllable, *ya*, is often greatly lengthened.)

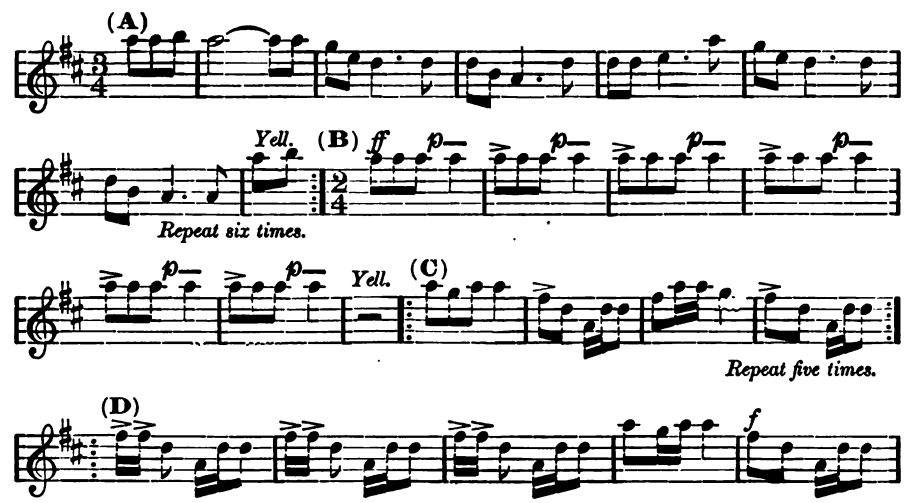
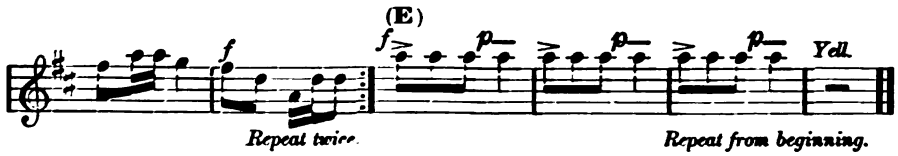
(B) yā′ lī he, ho yá lī he.

(C) há lī na wé he, *yō′hā*.

(D) same as (A).

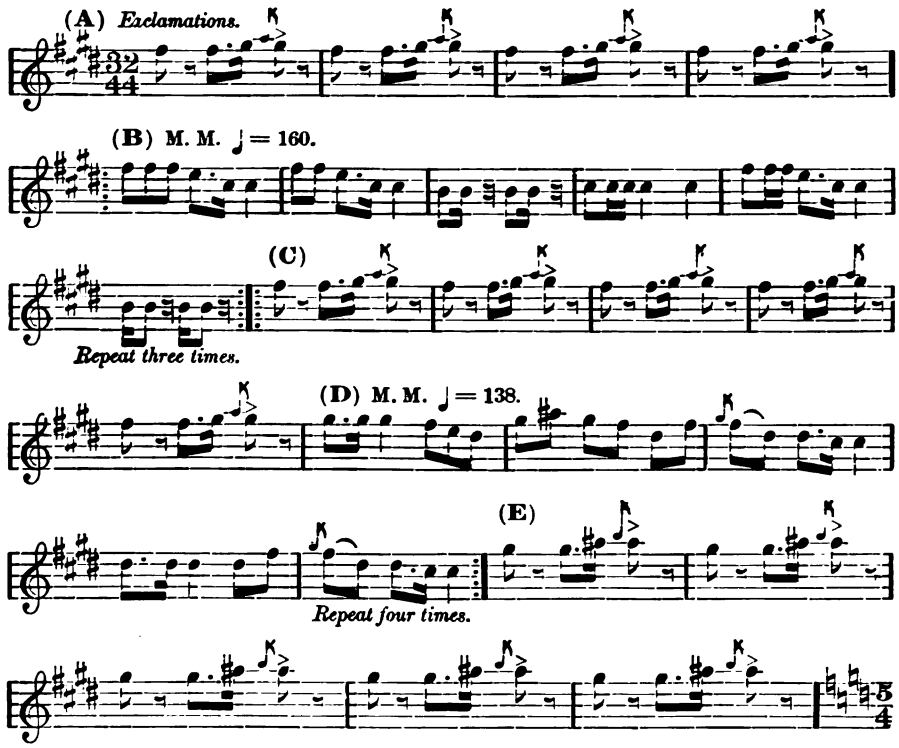
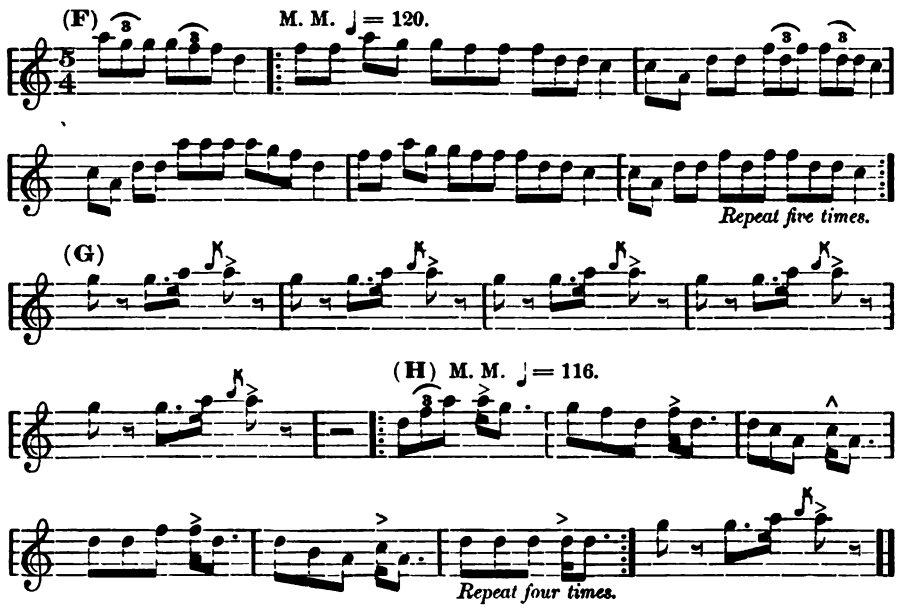
(E) hé go wī′ yä, hé go wī *yá hä* (with variations in the ending).

4. Tcófiba′nga. RABBIT DANCE.

The following is a totemic honorific dance in which the participants hop like the rabbit, tcófi, to the accompaniment of the hand rattle and drum. In other respects the action is like that of the preceding dances. The song is full of cries and shouts.

The burden is:

(A) (whoops) yo hó lī nā′.
(B) yó^{2}o^{2}o^{2} hū′ (shouts).
(C) we hé há yo nā.
(D) repeat (A).
(E) repeat (B).

5. Yánasoba′nga. BUFFALO DANCE.

The buffalo, yánasa, which contributed much to the subsistence of these Indians was honored by the following dance in which the hand rattle and drum furnished the accompaniment. This was a highly animated performance with much heavy stamping, grunting and buffalo-like pantomine. Formerly each dancer wore the skin from the head and sometimes the back of the buffalo, with the horns attached, over his own head, the whole affair resembling the buffalo dance of the prairie tribes. In his hands each man clenched a stick.



The introduction (A) is *yo' yo oi ho'*.

(B) hé yo lé na *hé le*.

(C) repeat (A).

(D) há wa yá *hé le* and hé yo hó ē ya.

(E) repeat (A).

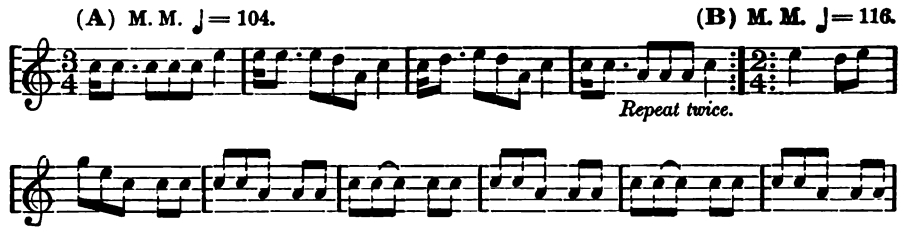
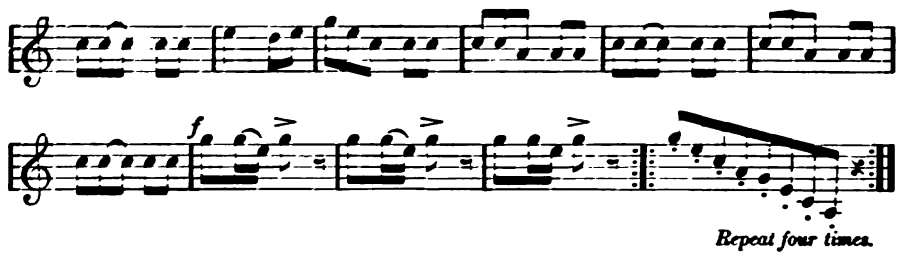
(F) hyá wa *hé le* and hyó le na hyó le na hi'.

(G) repeat (A).

(H) he ná yo hó.

The song ends with a cry (A) supposed to imitate the buffalo.

6. Fútcoba'nga. DUCK DANCE.

To recompense the duck, fútco, for his contribution toward the support of life and to keep him well disposed toward people, the following dance is performed. The participants hold hands, winding and turning behind the leader, who carries the hand rattle. The drum is also beaten for this dance.

The syllables are:

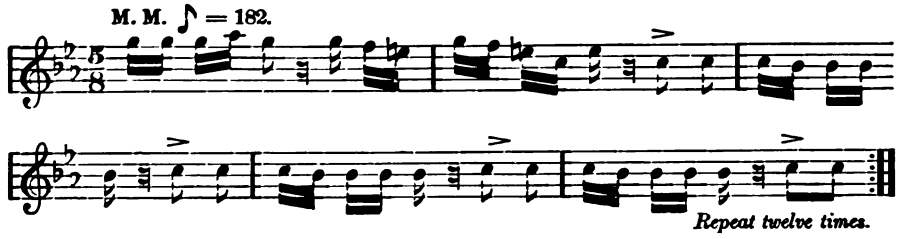
(A) hē' ha ya lī no'.

(B) hé we wé hé ya *he ya* and
á hī ya wa hé ya

The last three bars of (B) have yákkoi hé, a high, loud cry, repeated. A cry imitating the duck's quacking, kāk, kāk, kāk, etc., very rapidly, is given at the end and the whole is repeated as often as the leader wishes to continue the dance.

7. Dīhółkoba'nga. STEAL-EACH-OTHER DANCE.

[Idihółkobi 'each other (reciprocal) steal'. The form Dihółhopkoba'nga, also occurs.]

In this dance men and women ranged themselves opposite one another on the dance ground, the men side by side facing the women. As soon as the dance began each man would try to seize and capture a woman on the other side. Just how this was done I am unable to say as I did not witness it, but I think my informant stated that an old woman with a stick or switch protected the women as well as she could, keeping between the two files on the lookout for a chance to drive some man back to his place. The whole performance seems to have been a pleasure dance, followed oftentimes by licentiousness. This dance is looked upon as a survival of some old way of obtaining women. I did not hear of it among the Yuchi.

The syllables and words are as follows. The first two bars have:

há no sá we *hē'le.*

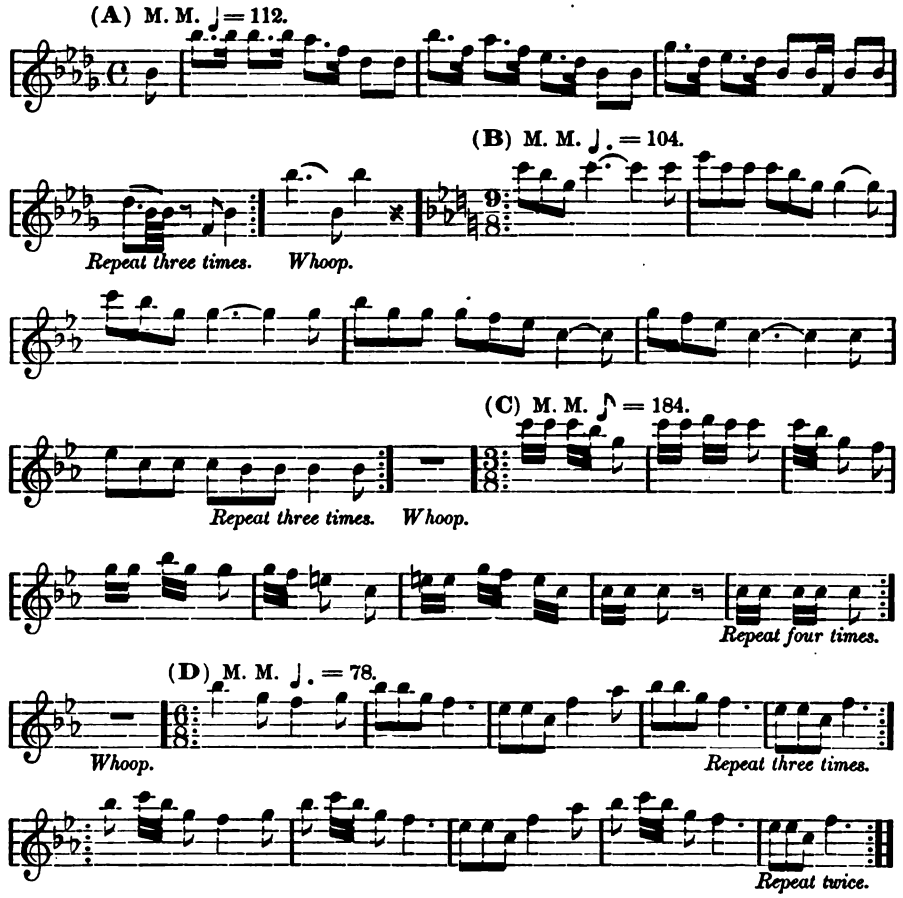
The last three have:

tīhółkobī *há ya lī'.*

each other steal.

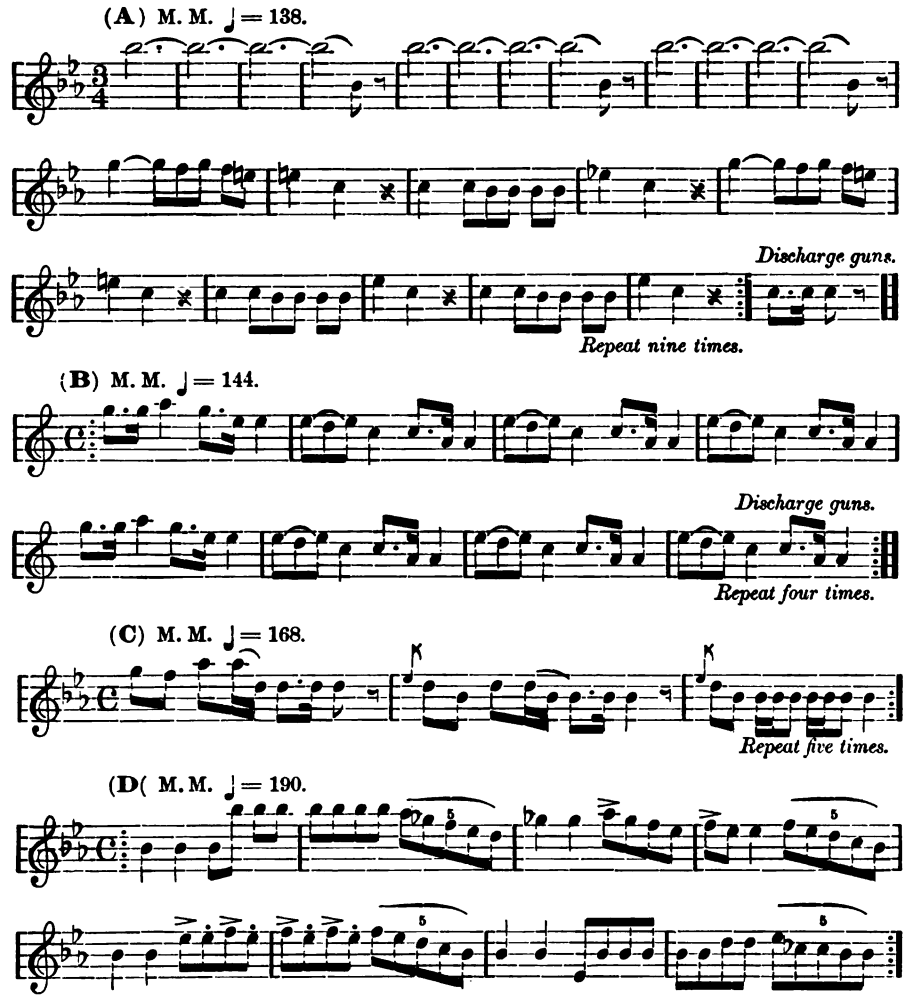
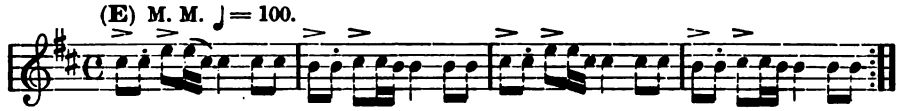
In repeating the song the order of the words in the last three bars is often changed, the chorus singing tihółkobī and the leader há ya lī. A whoop ends the dance.

8. Tolósoba'nga. CHICKEN DANCE.

The chicken, tolósī, is thanked for his flesh by a dance in which men and women, two abreast holding hands, circle around the dance ground behind the leader. The men are allowed to make free with the persons of their partners in this dance because, it is said, they are imitating cocks. The song requires both hand rattle and drum.

The syllables are:

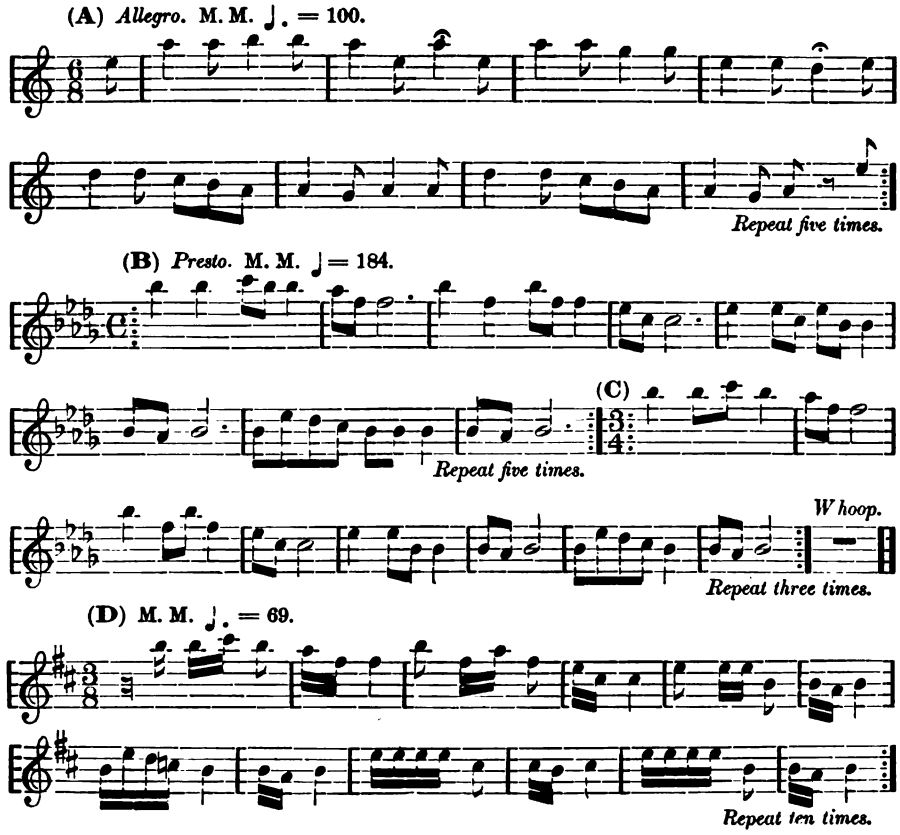
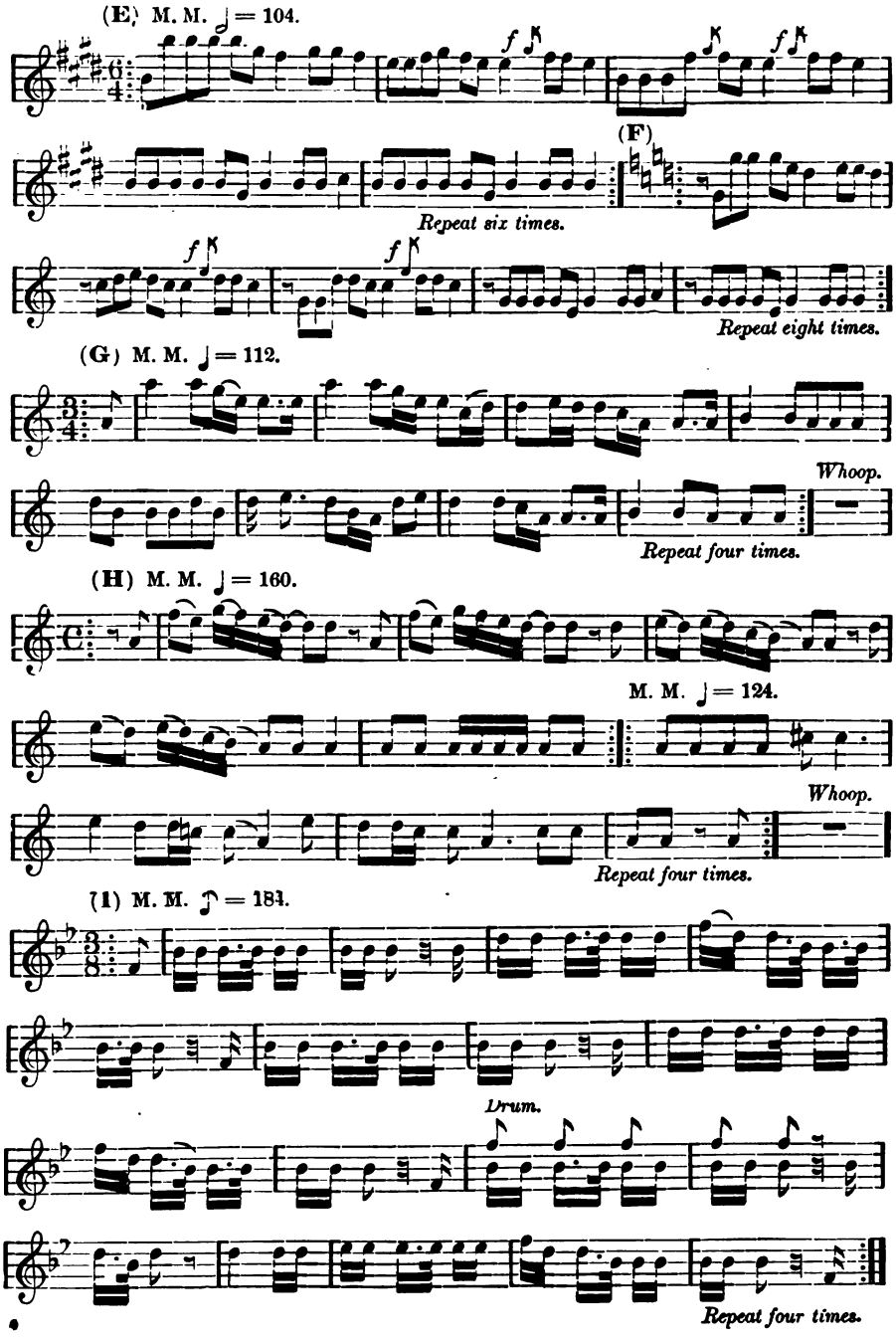
(A) ya hó li há, ya gó wi hi.
(B) hé go wi, ya hó^{e} ō· we ná wi hī' ya.
(C) ya le hó ya, ha na wī ye.
(D) hé ya hé no he.

9. Tabótskobanga. GUN DANCE.

A rather spectacular performance, which might be termed a sort of war dance, is one in which men only take part, each carrying a loaded rifle, revolver or gun. The dancers move in a circle as usual in single file behind the leader, stamping and responding vigorously in the chorus. Then at the end of each song they whoop and shoot their firearms, stopping long enough between songs to prepare for the next round. Drumming also goes with this dance. The resemblance between it and the war dance of the plains tribes is again noticeable. Some magic idea of strengthening or invoking the animus of the firearms is apparent here.

The burden is:

(A) hĭ'lī ná yo na, *hī' lī.*
(B) hĭ' lī *nó.*
[Repeat (A) and (B)].
(C) haí go dó, we hī yá, *he yá* (and)
haí go wé di dī, wé di dĭ', *hi yá.*
(D) hé le má ya, *yá lī ha,* hé^{e} e yó *hī ya.*
(E) waí ge tŏ' wa^{e}a yĕ', *he ya.*

10. Kúnobanga. Skunk Dance.

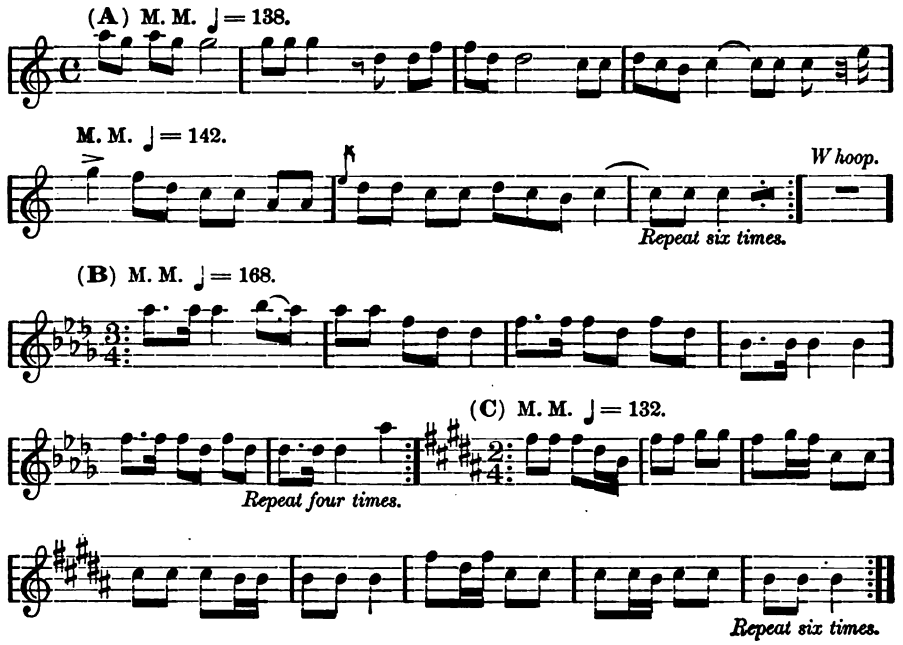
The following is an honorific totemic dance in honor of the skunk, kúno. No particulars, however, in which it differed from the ordinary round dances, were learned.

(E) M. M. ♩ = 104.
(F)
Repeat six times.
Repeat eight times.
(G) M. M. ♩ = 112.
Whoop.
Repeat four times.
(H) M. M. ♩ = 160.
M. M. ♩ = 124.
Whoop.
Repeat four times.
(I) M. M. ♪ = 184.
Drum.
Repeat four times.

The burden is:

(A) hó ya na do *ho yá le.*
(B) hyó he le *hé ga no yá le.*
(C) hyó we le he *dó yaᵍ a le.*
(D) hé le le *dé zä di* and
hī' we ga *gó zä di.*
(E) gó no he *gó no ho yá le.*
(F) dó ga le *hó za ha lé he* (or hó za léᵍ e he).
(G) ha nó *yá ha le.*
(H) he gó *nó wī ya* and
ha nó *ya lé na.*
(I) ná we he yó ge na *hó we ya* and
hó we na le he.

11. Tciłákkoba'nga. Horse Dance.

The horse, tciłákko, is honored for his usefulness by a dance in which the men trot behind their leader, who shakes the hand rattle. At the end they whinny like stallions. There appears considerable difference between the Creek and Yuchi horse dance songs (see p. 209).



The burden varies somewhat in (A).

(A) ya hó ga ni yá,
yo hó ya li yé,
ya hó we ya li yé,
} *djú na ba.*

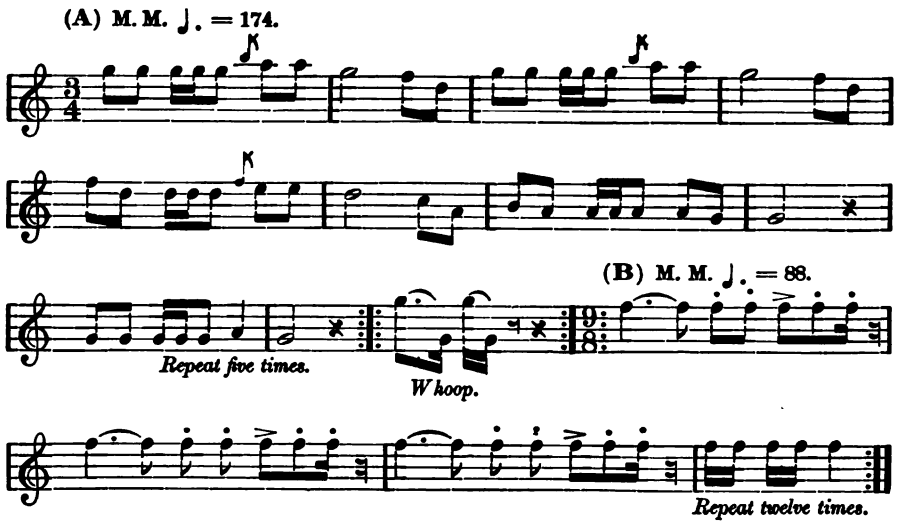
(B) he yá ya *ho.*

(C) hé le na ha,
gó he le na ha.

Whinnying frequently interrupts the verse.

12. Baſ'kobanga. MULE DANCE.

A dance in honor of the mule, tcilákkobaſ'ka 'barking horse,' is similar to the horse dance, the dancers going through practically the same motions imitating mules by cries and stamping. At the end of the dance the leader brays like a mule, after which, I was told, considerable licentiousness is tolerated until the next repetition. The mule, because of his unearthly braying and mixed ancestry, is looked upon as mysterious.



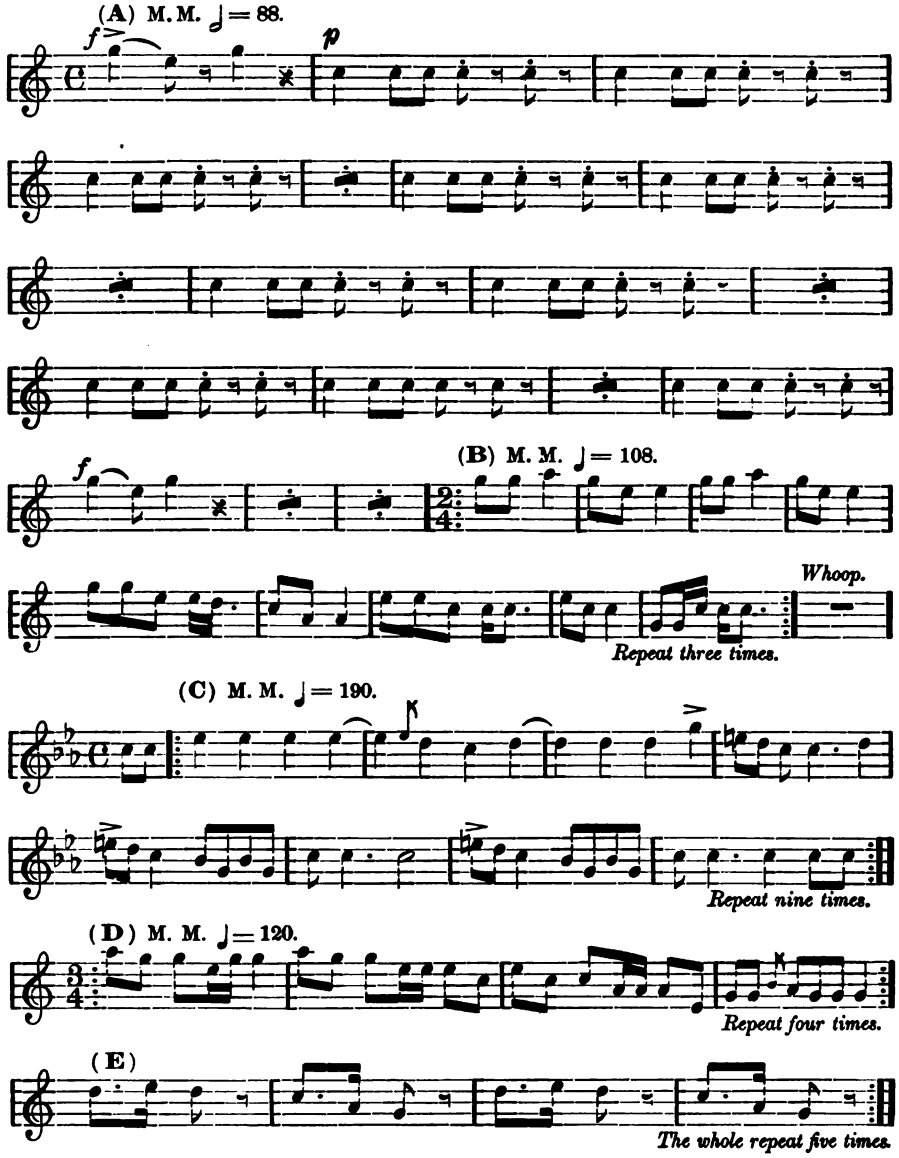
The syllables are:

(A) yá sī wa no dá hé.

(B) hyó wa ha, *yó wa há* and
hyú wa ha, *yú wa há.*

The syllable groups of (B) often alternate with interjected expressions such as yanálkaba hádjigo módja, 'here in the middle [of his rear, he is] tailless now,' or others of a jocular nature improvised by the leader.

13. Istĭfa'nĭba'nga.[1] SKELETON DANCE.

The ghosts of the dead are believed to be quieted by this dance in honor of the remains of deceased ancestors. The performers assume rather stiff postures and make stiff movements, circling in the usual way about the fire. This is a Creek dance, one that I did not hear of among the Yuchi.

[1]Literally, 'human bone dance.'

The burden is:

(A) hé yo hé he. (An introduction sung softly.)

(B) hó lī wa, *yá na he* or
há yo lī wa, *yá*^{E} *na he.*

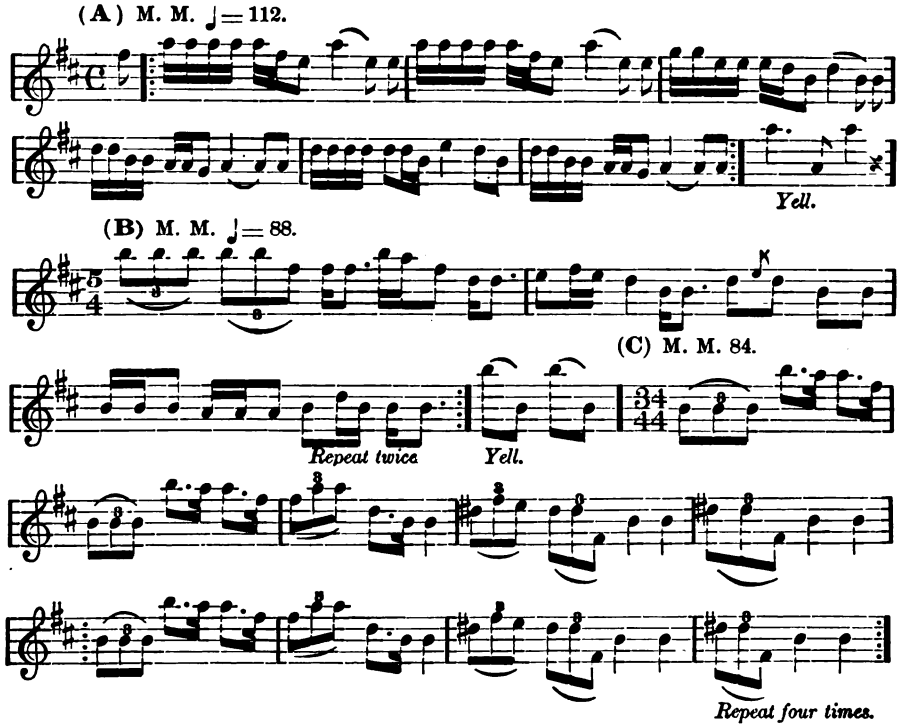
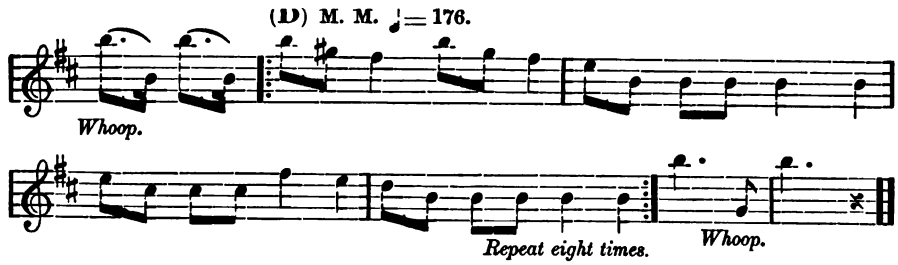
(C) yá na ni he, *hé na yo wa.*
ha yá lī, *gó wī ha nī.*
hé na do wa ye, yó wi hā ne, *há yā le.*
si nī dá si há li, *ha ya yo wā' le.*

This song (C) is repeated nine times with many changes in the syllables and their repetitions.

(D) hé ya yā' wa *hī yé.*

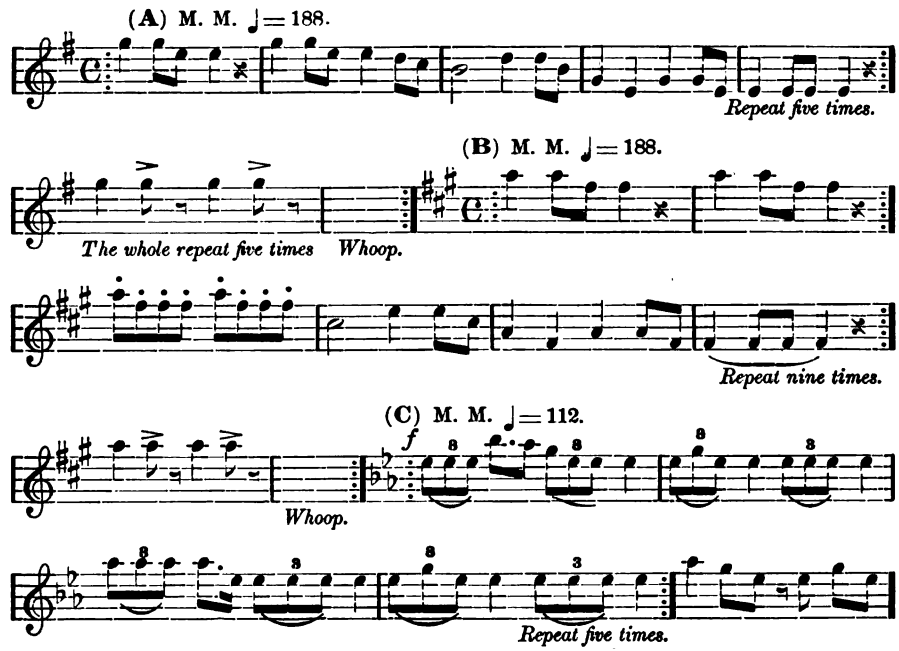
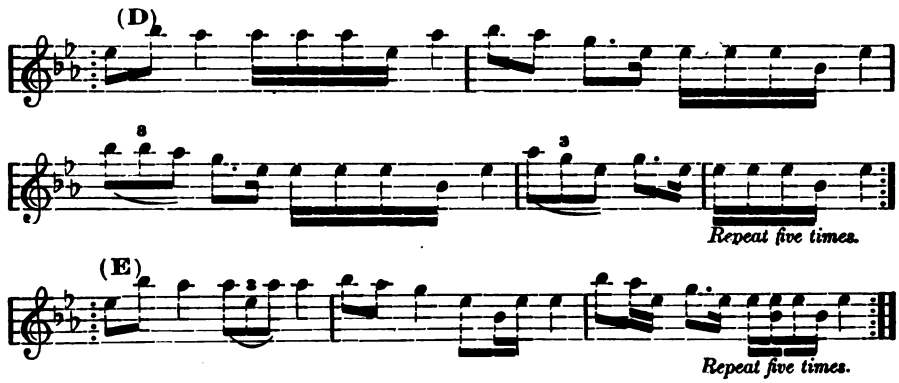
(E) *hō' djī le* (four times, sung by leader and dancers in unison).

14. Stikínobanga. Screech Owl Dance.

The screech owl, stikíni, is an incarnation of some human spirit. The Indians think it is capable sometimes of causing death. Its cries at least announce the death of somebody. The following propitiatory dance is performed to ward off the evil omen. There are no special features to it so far as I know. The hand rattle is shaken by the leader.

The syllables are:

(A) ha yó wa na *ho li yá he.* (Shouts and yells at the end.)
(B) yo wá$^{\varepsilon}$ *lī he* (and)
ha$^{\varepsilon}$ yo wá$^{\varepsilon}$ *lī he.* (Shouts and yells at the end.)
(C) há yo nī$^{\varepsilon}$ ī *há nī* (and) (Whoop at the end.)
há yo wá no nī$^{\varepsilon}$ ī *há nī.*
(D) hé ga wa ya *hé le* (and) (Whoop at the end.)
ká yo wa ya *hé le.*

15. O'bobanga. Long-eared Owl Dance.

The large long-eared owl, óbo, is another creature thought necessary to placate by an emulatory dance. The hand rattle furnishes the accompaniment. Its features are of the regular order.

The syllables are:

(A) hó hī ye *yá hya we* (or) *yá hya^{s} wī' hī.* (The cry *hó hī ye* ends this and the following verse.)

(B) yá hya we *yó ga lí na.*

(C) yo wé he he *he do nā' ahe.* (The cry *hōp hē* ends this verse.)

(D) há nī a hó^{s} o ge *hē' mā nō.*

(E) yá li ha hí *hā yo ga ni.*

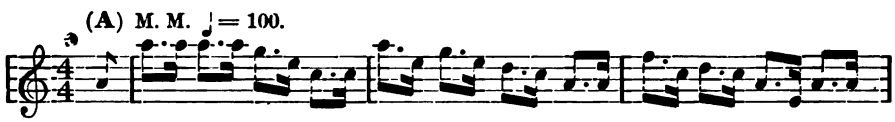
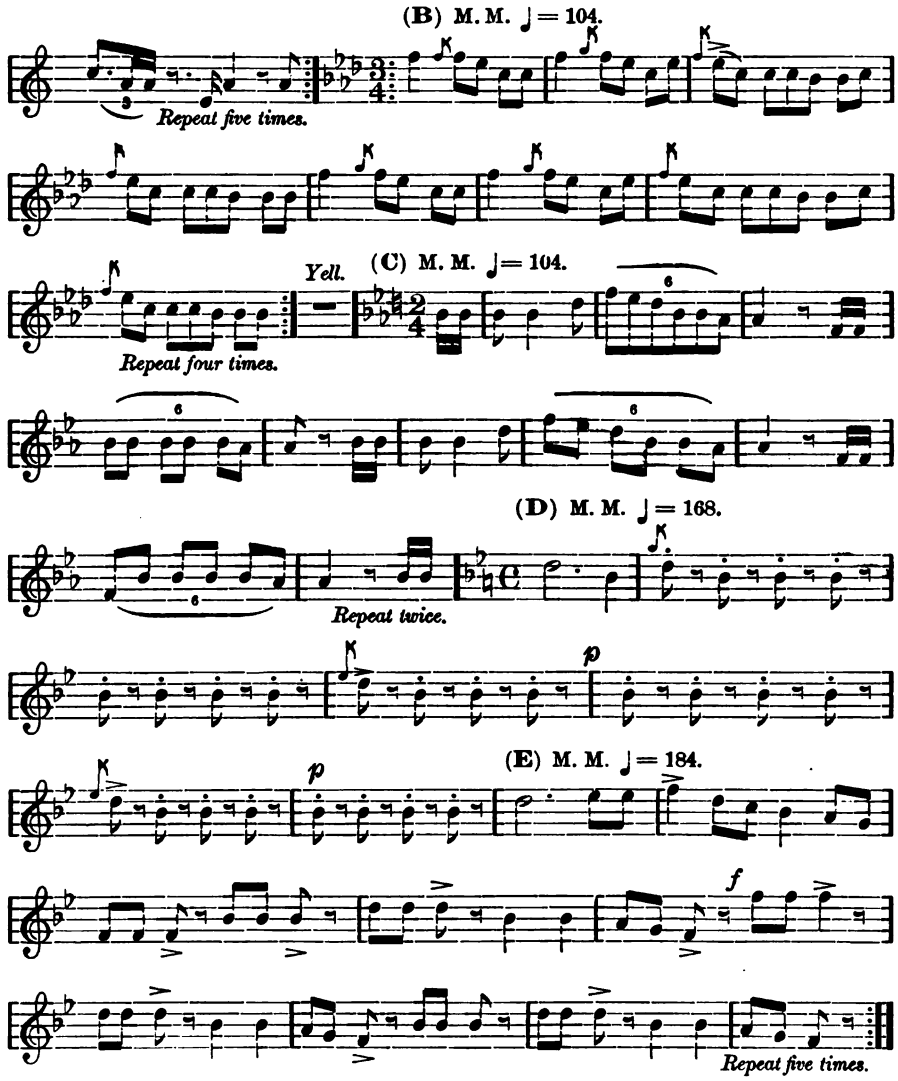
wé he yā' "

hó we yā' "

hoí ya wé "

The cry *hōp hē,* imitating the owl, again ends the song.

16. Súlība'nga. Buzzard Dance.

The turkey buzzard, súlī, is a totemic creature. People of the buzzard clan, and others who desire, perform an imitative dance, to the accompaniment of drum and rattle, in which they circle about behind their leader waving their arms like a flapping buzzard. At the end of each song they bend down, spit, and hiss like a buzzard disgorging food. The song accelerates toward the end (at D), the motion of the dancers' arms keeping time with it. A rather unusual feature of the song is the invocatory mention of the buzzard's name toward the end.

The burdens are:

(A) ya gó li há, *ya gó wī hī.* (At the end of this verse comes a cry ya ho.)

(B) dā′ wa ya *hí li* (twice).
(or) he dá wa ya^{g} a *hí li.*

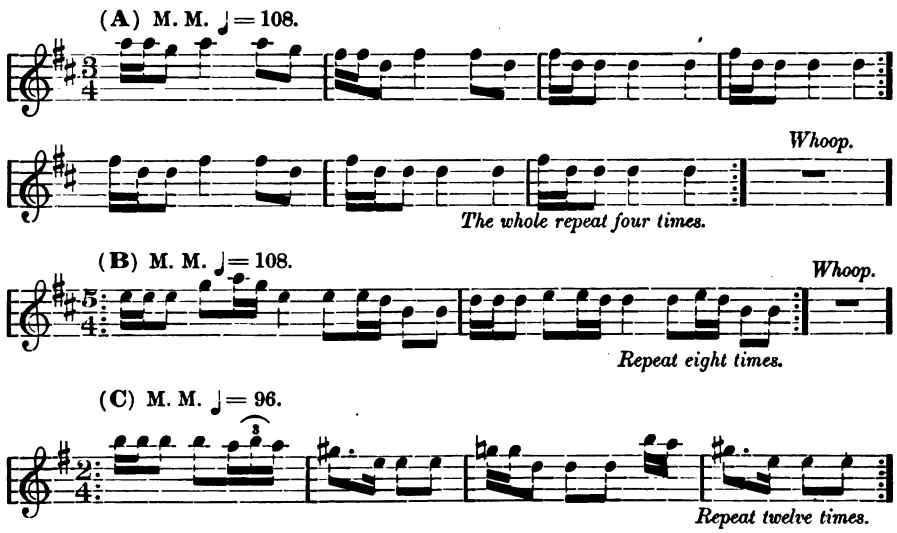
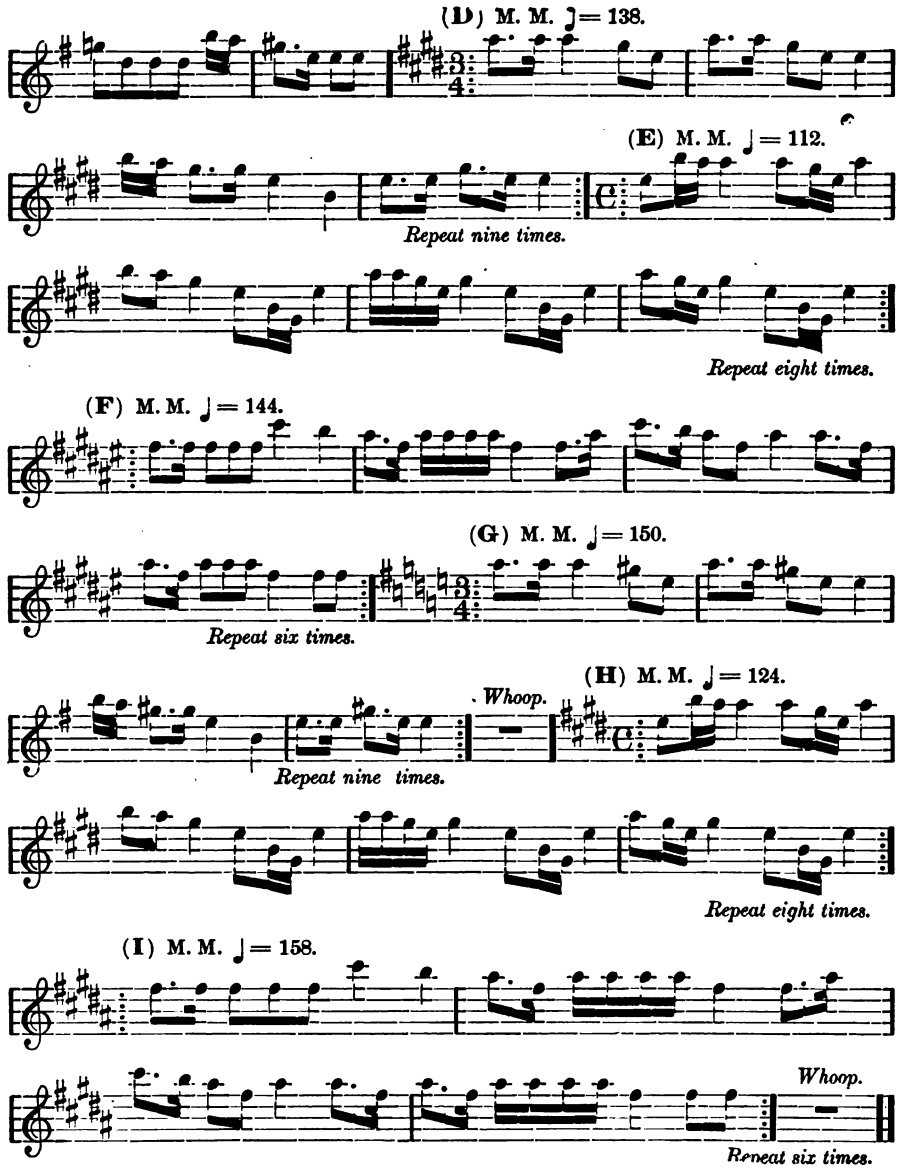
(C) há ni wa yā′ *hē″ hā·*
(or) há ni wa yā′ hī.

(D) súlī wa yā′ súlī wa yā′ he.
buzzard buzzard
(E) hé ya *nó ha ya* and
hé ya *he yó hī.*

The last syllables of this verse diminish in sound until scarcely to be heard, forming almost a pause.

17. Pokídjīdaba′nga. Ball Game Dance.

A dance somewhat different from the usual sort, is performed by the Creeks to invoke supernatural strength for the players, and the sticks or rackets they use, in the Indian ball game.[1] The dance takes place the night before the game and consumes the whole night. The sticks to be used are painted red, the symbol of contest, and hung upon a cross pole supported on crotched uprights. A line of women side by side faces the sticks and a line of men, including the players, on the opposite side of the rack faces the women. They all mark time and stamp in unison singing the following songs in which meaningless syllables are interspersed with words and sentences having the effect of conjuration. The women sing loudest since they are thought to exert the strongest influence. Drumming accompanies this dance. The Yuchi have a similar ceremony, but the song, Yuchi ball game song, presented further on, pertains to another part of the game (see page 209).

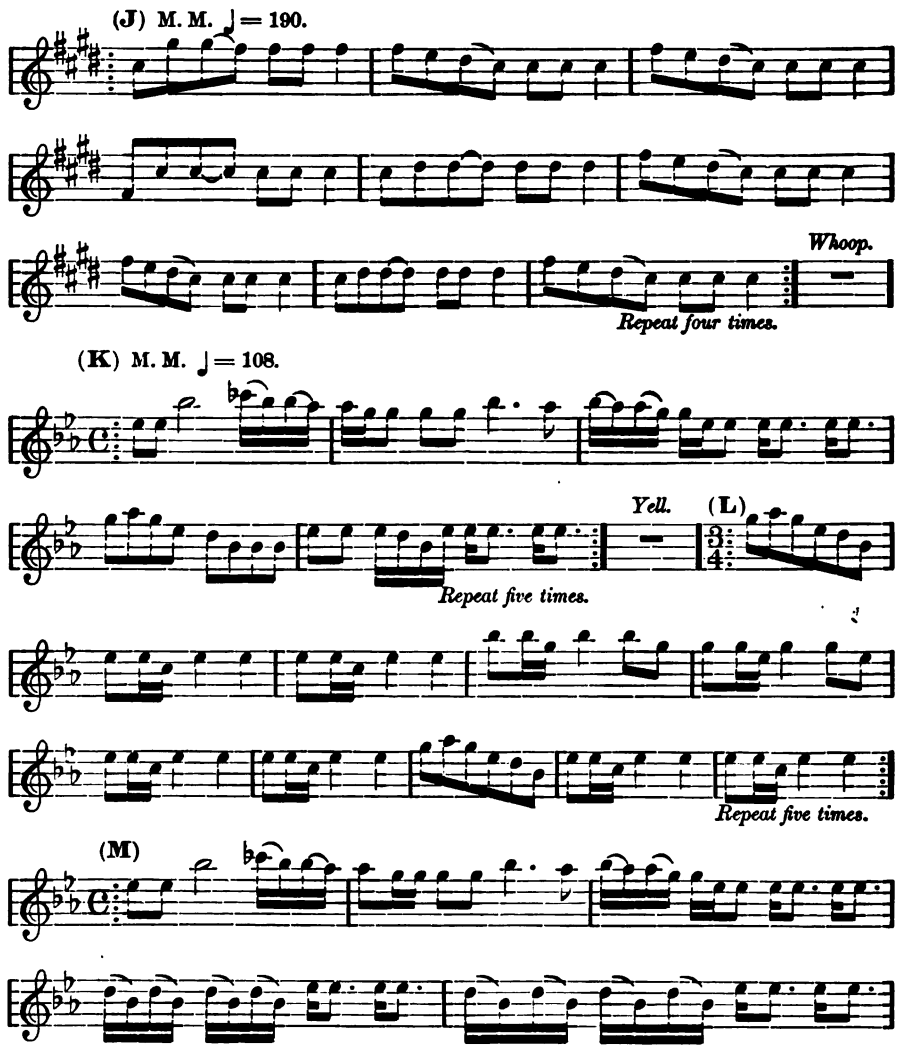
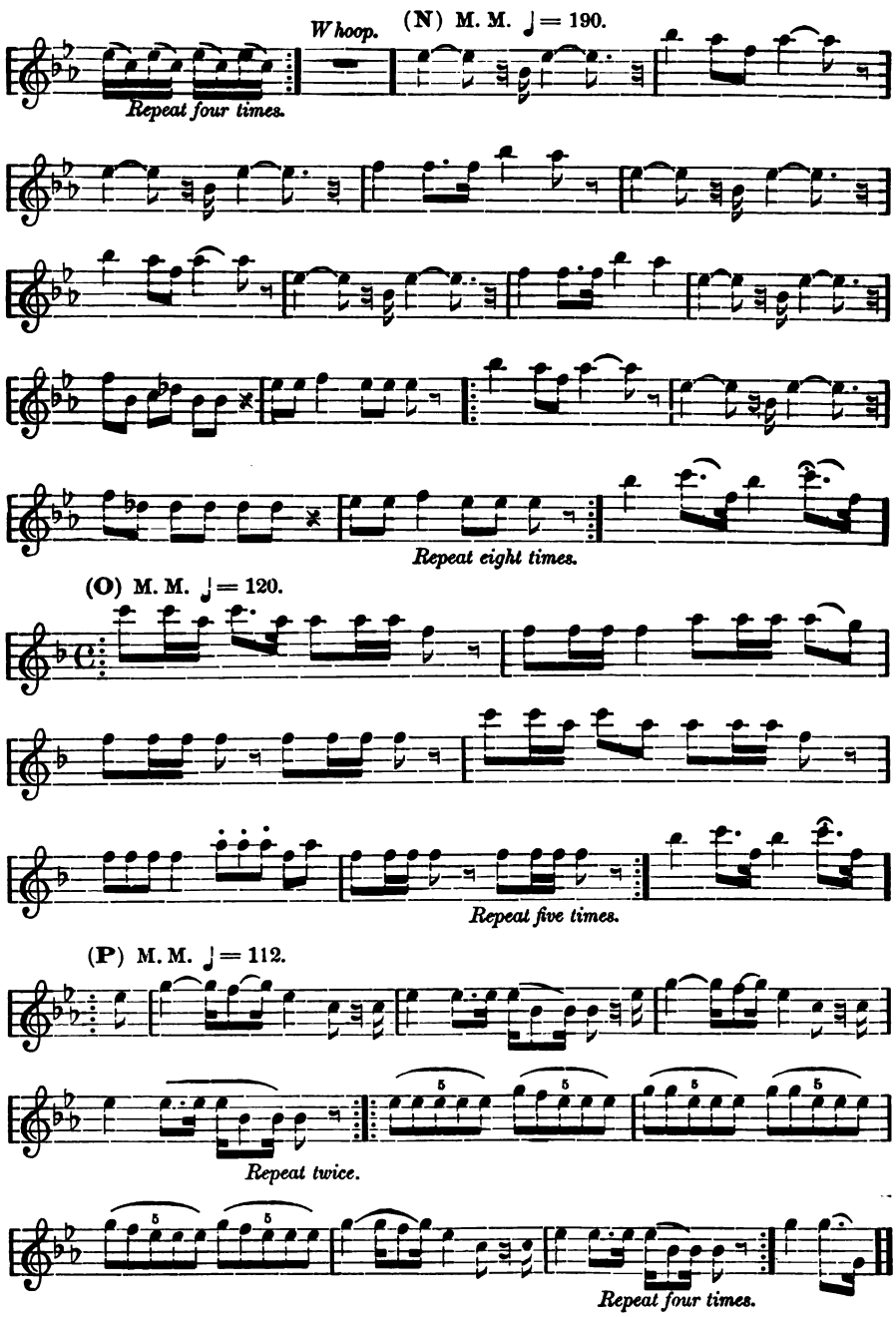
The syllables, as far as could be taken down, are:

[1]For accounts of this widespread game cf. p. 86, and Culin, Twenty-fourth Annual Rep. Bu. Amer. Ethnology (1906), pp. 562-716.

(A) hó ya *yá ga nī.* (Whoop at end.)

(B) hyó we do ná *he.* (Whoop at end.)

In this and the rest of the verses are words which I could not obtain.

(C) nó ha yá le.

(D) (E) (F) syllables and words not obtained.

(G) he le (once as introduction).
hó na djī dó ga *há go né ga.* (Whoop at end.)
(H) hé le[1] *má ho ge*[1] and
hé le sī há[1] *má ho ge.*
(I) djí go ná[1] *ya dó ge.* (Whoop at end.)

[1]While the informant gave no meaning for these syllables, hele is like ili 'foot,' mahoge is part of the verb 'to say,' hele si ha could be 'foot halter,' and djigona means 'limper.'

Whoop.
(N) M. M. ♩= 190.
Repeat four times.
Repeat eight times.
(O) M. M. ♩= 120.
Repeat five times.
(P) M. M. ♩= 112.
Repeat twice.
Repeat four times.

The syllables are:

(A) yá ha ya *yo wá lī nó hī.*
(B) hó we na *há na wī' le.*
(C) ha yó we ga ni *ha yó we le ha.*
(D) ho ná *we le.*
(E) ho wé lī *wá yo na.*
(F) ho ná *we le* (same as D).
(G) há na dī yá we *yó ha he.*
(H) hó ga ne *yá li go.*
(I) hwé le *wá yo na* (similar to E).
(J) wa djī dá *ná go si.*
(K) ho yó (introduction).
hó djo no, he lé yá le he *hä'.* (Whoop at end.)
(L) ha GAN' gwa djī. (With this verse and all the rest on go words which were unfortunately not all gotten.)
(M) Repeat (K) with quick repetitions of *badjá*, 'grandfather,' at the end of the verse.

This song is ended with shouts and *badjá, badjá yó hyo.*

(N) hó we lī *go hó we lī.*
(O) *há yo gá ne*

hátkisA'lgi,
white ones.
lástisA'lgi,
black ones.
tcádisAlgi,
red ones.
lánisAlgi,
yellow ones.

(P) hyo wé na *nó ha ya le.*

18. TáfosobAnga.[2] FEATHER DANCE. (Taskigi Town.)

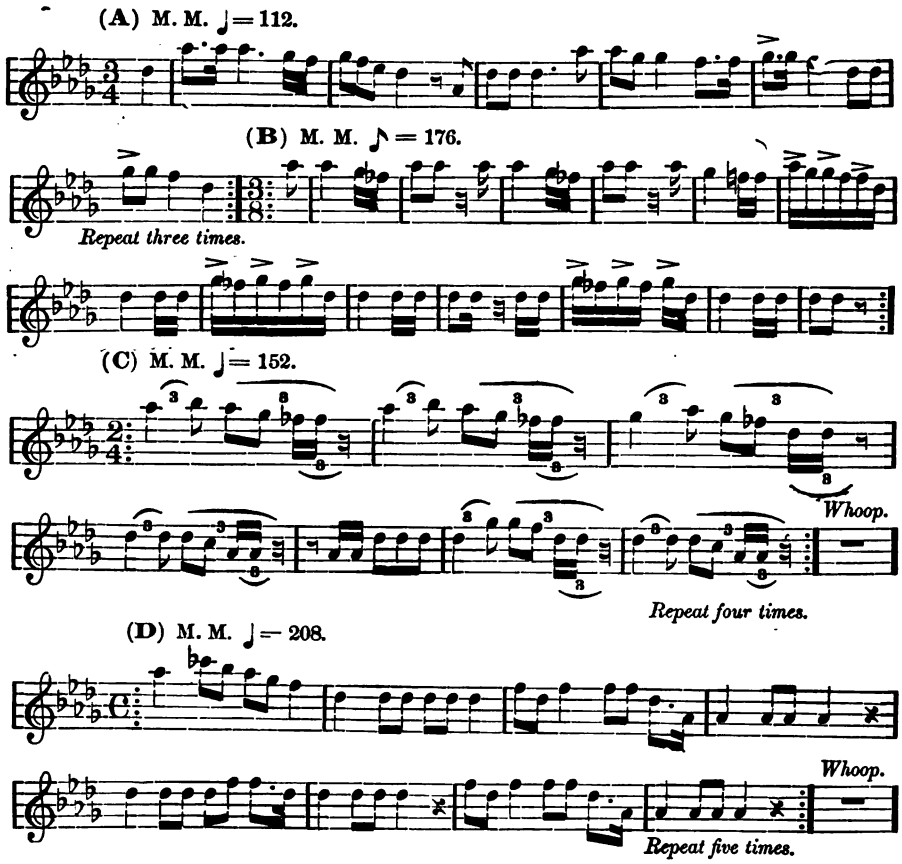
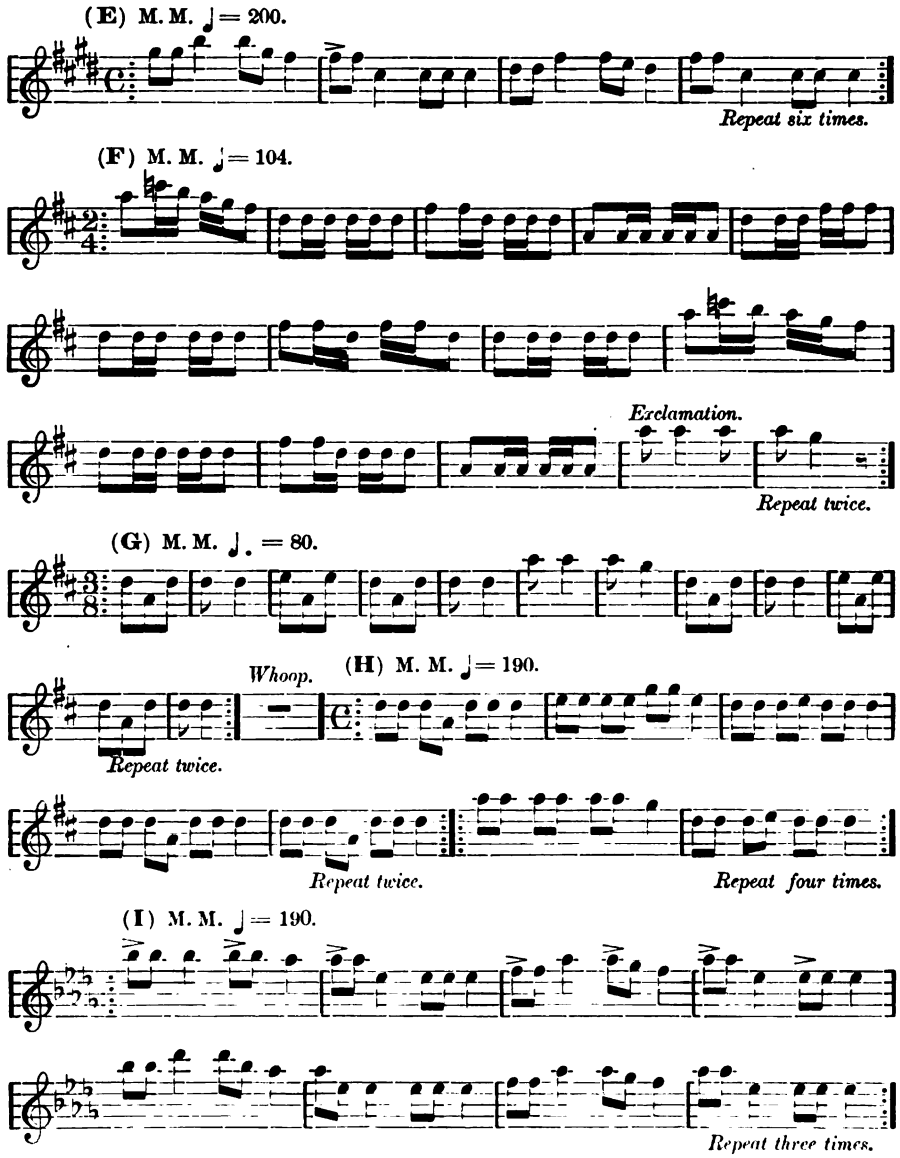
One of the few Creek dances performed during the daytime was the following in honor of the animus of the feather, táfo. This dance, a long and important one, was intimately associated with the ceremony of the emetic so prominent in the rites of the southeastern tribes.[2] Each dancer held in his hands sticks about six feet long with a fringe of white heron feathers attached. They had to pay a shaman to make these wands as the heron feathers were

[1]Táfo, 'feather,' -s- verbal element, obA'nga 'dance'.

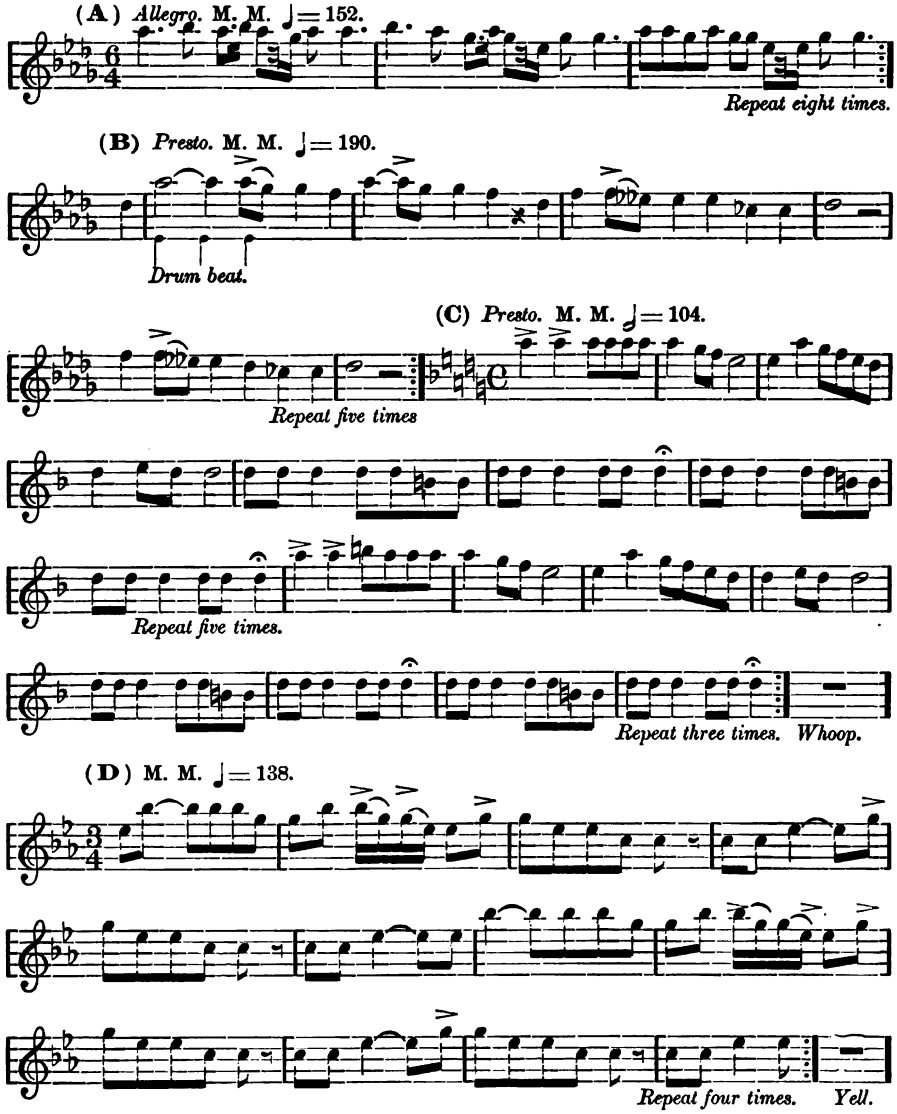
[2]See p. 115, and M.A.A.A., pp. 140-141. Between the songs of this dance the participants drank a decoction of red willow root and button snake root which caused them to vomit.

sacred, and could only be handled after the proper rites. They insured peace and protected the people from human and supernatural evil.

The Feather Dance was rather spectacular. Picture the town square with its four brush covered arbors filled with interested spectators in the midst of their annual religious festival. The dancers clad in their calico finery, with ostrich and other highly colored plumes in their head bands and their fluttering wands, start circling in a single file behind the leader, the drum and hand rattle beating time. At the end of the second song they group together in a squad, elevate their wands and rush whooping toward the west arbor of the square where the town chief sits. Bringing themselves suddenly to a halt, they raise the wands high, then drive them into the earth before the arbor. This performance is enacted successively before each of the four arbors, after which the occupants take a drink of the emetic.

Kabítcímála knew the fourteen different songs of the Feather Dance which are offered here, but many words in the last songs were not obtained.

19. FEATHER DANCE. (Tulsa Town.)

Fortunately for purposes of comparison, Kabítcímála was able to sing a version of the Feather Dance which came from Tulsa town, a Creek town-tribe northeast of Taskigi. (Cf. map, M.A.A.A.) This he learned from a Tulsa town

leader years ago. The version is interesting ethnographically because it shows that in such details the various towns differed from each other.

(A) Allegro. M. M. ♩= 152.
Repeat eight times.
(B) Presto. M. M. ♩= 190.
Drum beat.
(C) Presto. M. M. ♩= 104.
Repeat five times
Repeat five times.
Repeat three times. Whoop.
(D) M. M. ♩= 138.
Repeat four times. Yell.

The syllables are:

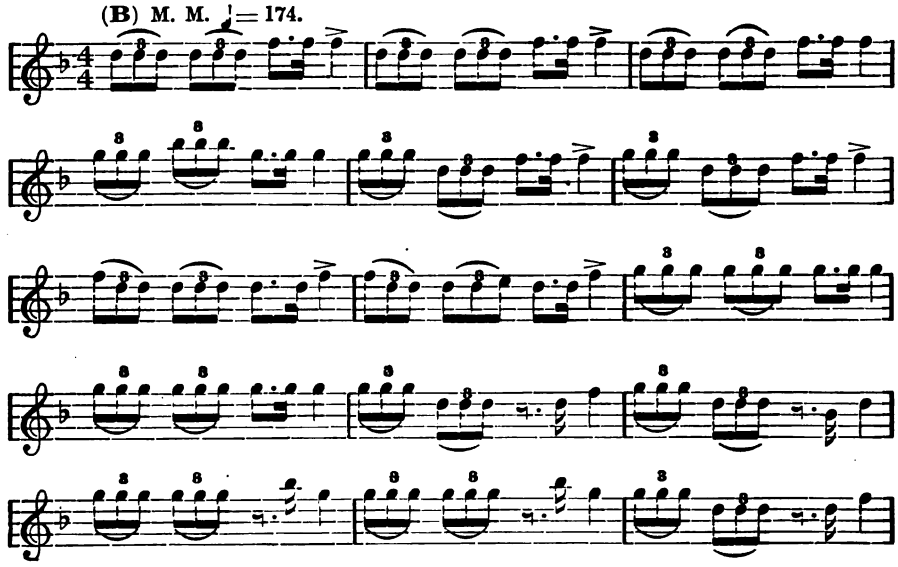
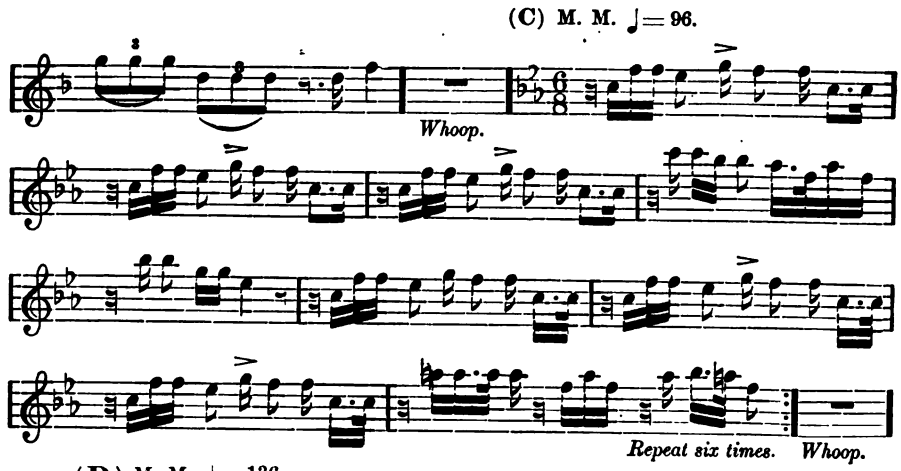
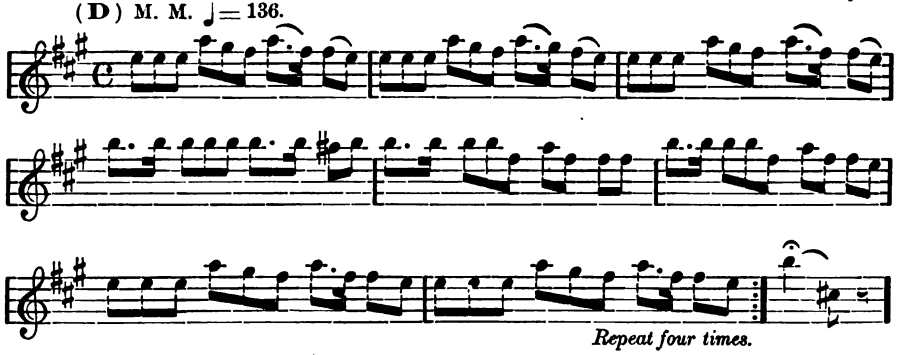
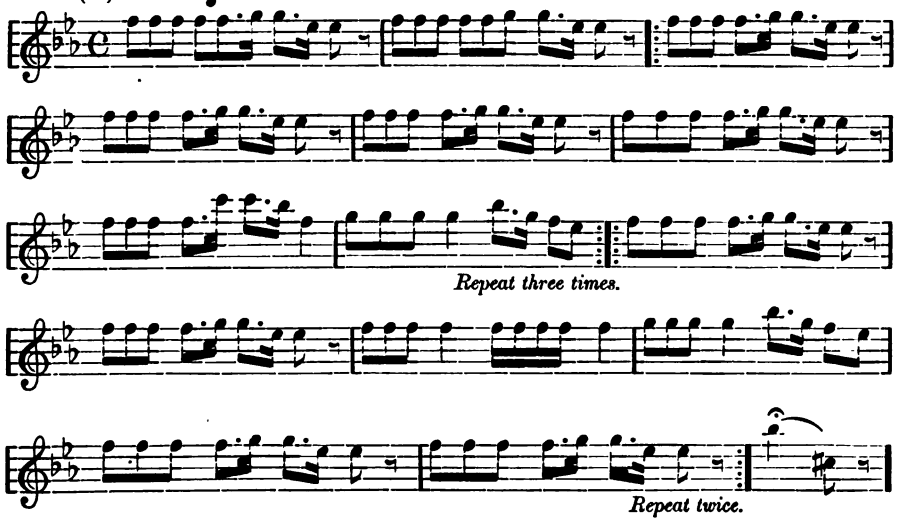
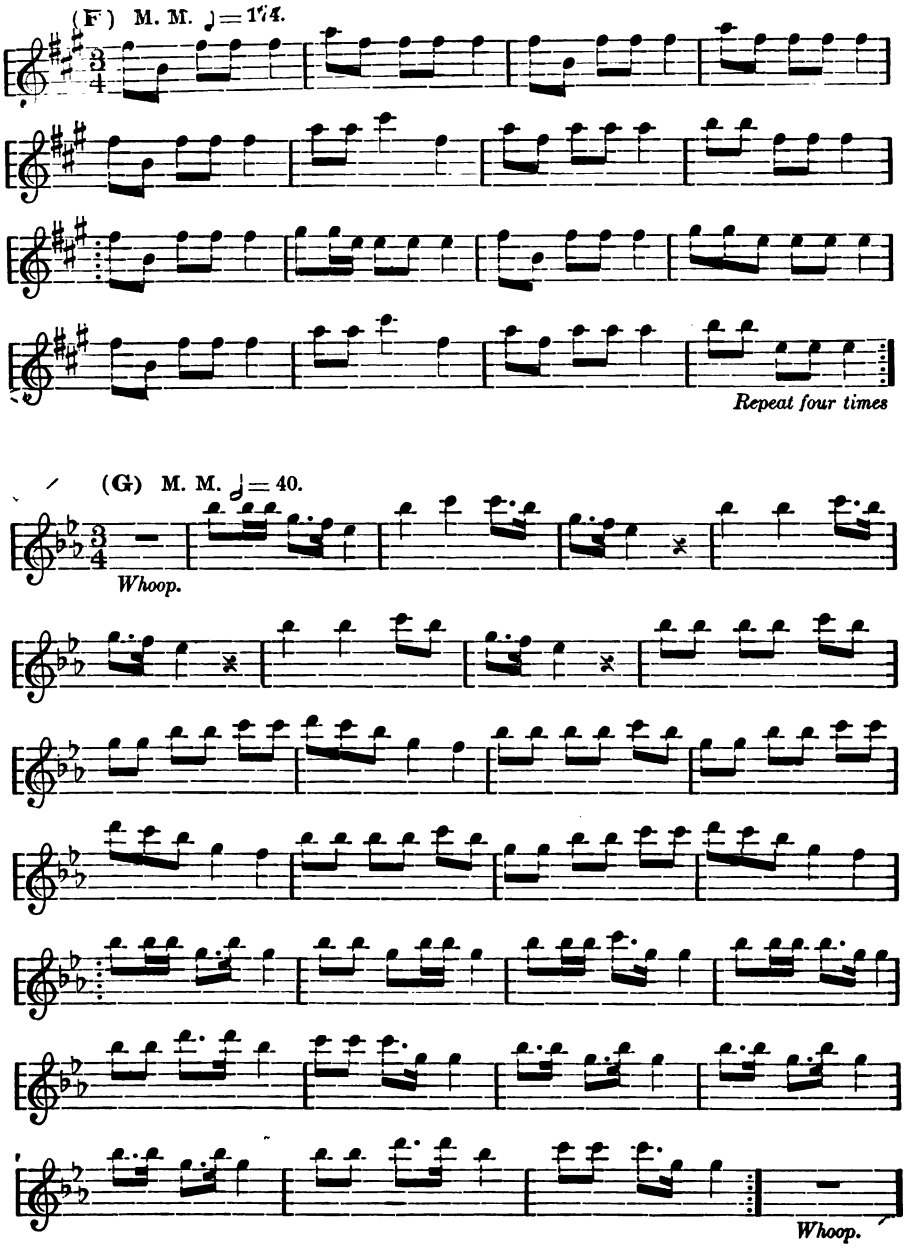
(A) hó sī do,[1] *yá na he* and
ho sī′ do sī′ do *ho ya le.*

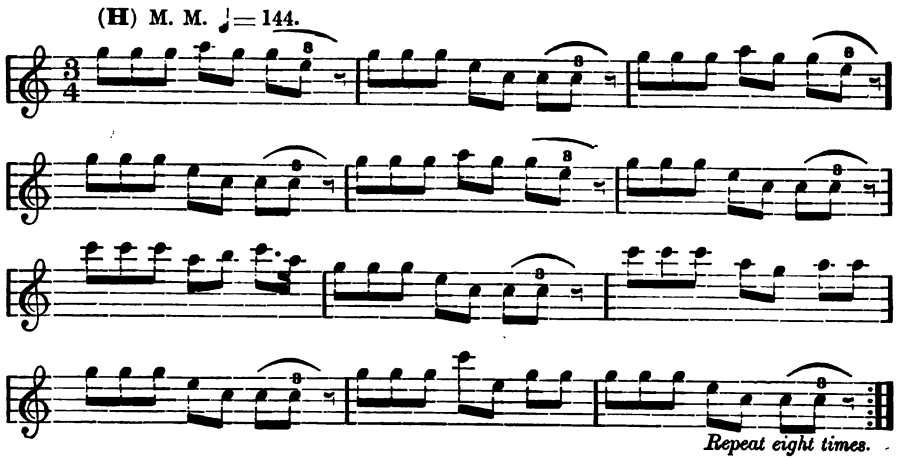
[1]While no meaning was ascribed to this when it was taken down, it nevertheless means 'to forget.'

(B) há no go wá *lī na.*
(C) hó lī ya, yo há no ga *yo ga lī'.* (Whoop at end.)
(D) hó le ne wá yo ne *yá na hē' hé ya.*
The yell hâ'^{e} yo wī' concludes the song.

20. Oba'ngahā'djo. Crazy Dance.

One of the favorite Creek dances is the Crazy Dance, so named because the participants behave like wild people, men and women taking freedom with each other's persons and acting in general in such a way as to provoke mirth. The word hādjo is peculiar to the Muskogi also as a personal name in the sense of wild, clever, funny, crazy, and withal in no way opprobrious. The songs for the Crazy Dance usually are funny or obscene stories, which in connection with other traits, suggests that in some way there is a connection between the dance and the idea of procreation. In other respects the movements, motions and accompaniments are similar to the other dances. Licentiousness usually follows after it.

A peculiar feature of the Crazy Dance is that it is customary for the women who take part in it to pay twenty-five cents to their male partners, a practice which is found also among the plains tribes.

(C) M. M. ♩= 96.

(D) M. M. ♩= 136.

(E) M. M. ♩= 150.

(F) M. M. ♩= 114.
Repeat four times
(G) M. M. 𝅗𝅥= 40.
Whoop.
Whoop.



The words and syllables of the various songs of this dance are:

(A) Introduction not transcribed.

whoop yó hyo, *yo^{ɛ} o^{ɛ} ho hoi.* (Three times.)
yo ŋyo, *yo hyo.* (Four times.)
ā ha, *ā ha.* "
ye hye, *ye hye.* "
yo hyo, *yo hyo.* "
we hä, *we hä.* "
we hī ya^{ɛ} ä, *we hī ya^{ɛ} ä.* "
we he, *we he.* "
yo hyo, *yo hyo.* "

The above cries by the leader and responses by the chorus are continued while he walks circling about the fire on the dance ground. At the end the leader gives a long whoop and the line breaks up to form again soon and repeat the whole. After these two songs, the dance proper begins (B).

(B) yá li ha yó hä, *há he.*

(C) hé ya hi yá hä, *há we hä* (or)
hyó wa hi yá hä, *yá we hä.*

There are some words to this verse, but all that could be obtained was "ya ma talófa, this here my village," meaning "this is where I belong," and "tcahásīka sútki, my hat is too small."[1]

(D) hé ga yo wá lī he or *yā' hī ye.*
gá hyo wá lī he.

(E) yá we he yá ya, *a hyō' he he.*

[1]Another example of these interjectional phrases is mákosígodesím "he never could say it before, (but he can say it) now," from a dance song, as I remember it, in which the burden was hákoiyáka tcá, and said to mean "come on with it."

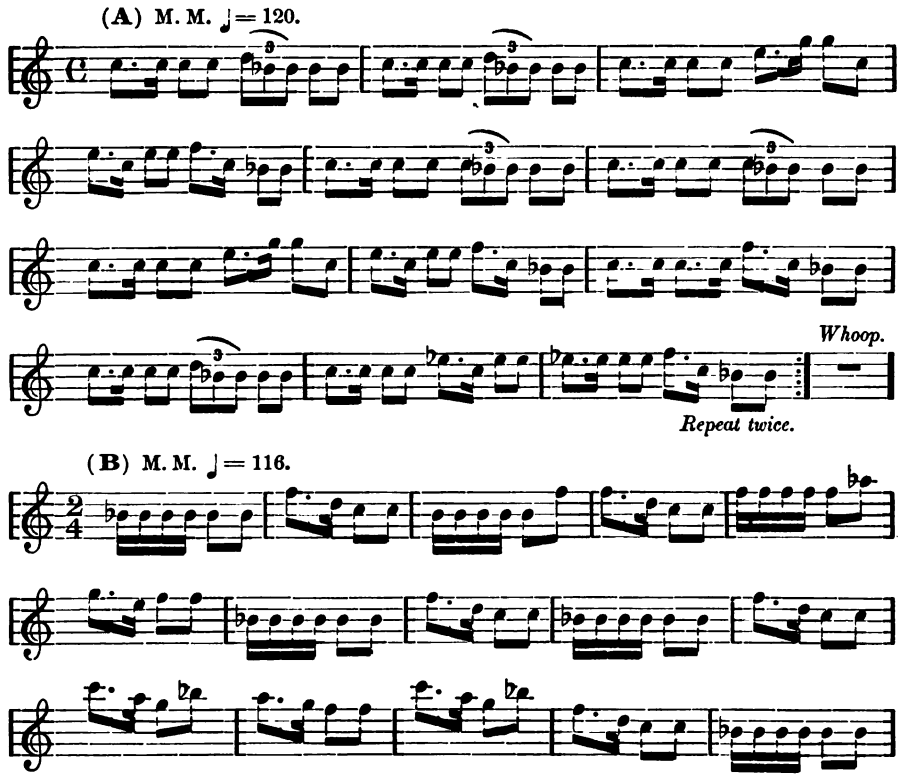
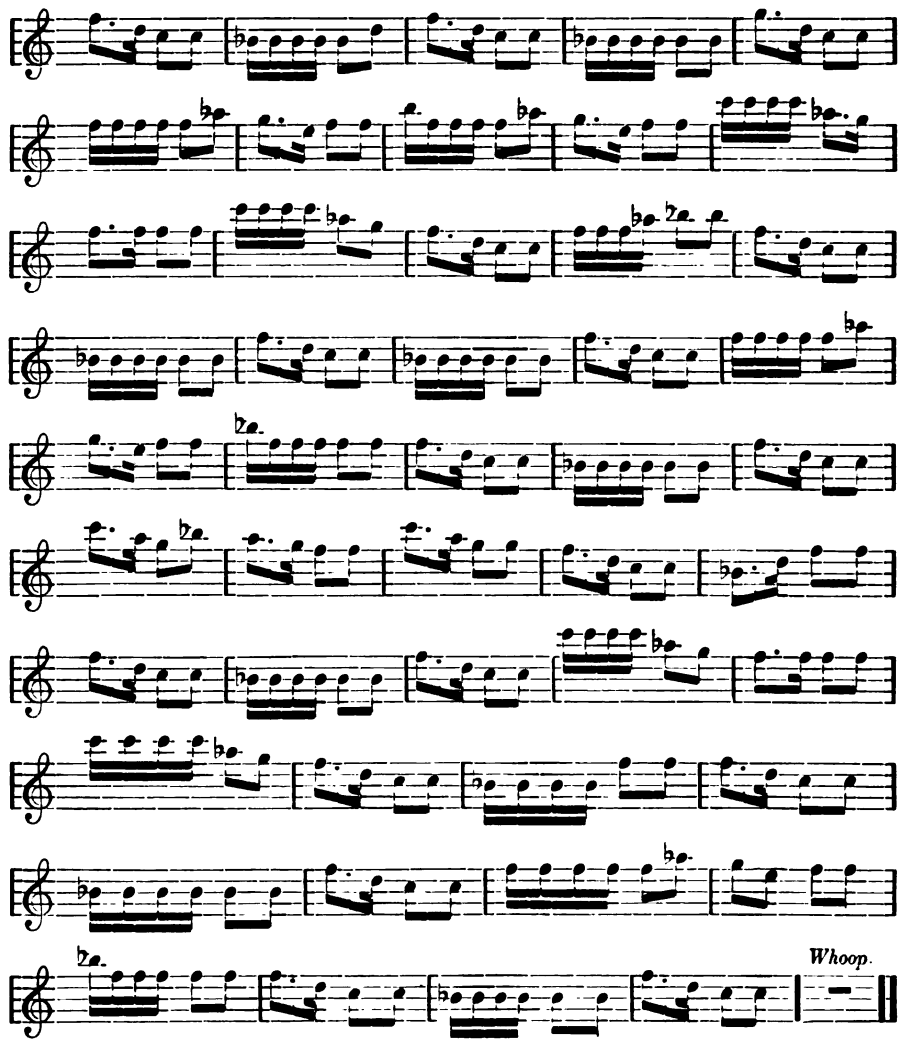
(F) hé ya hī' yā' we, *há hī ya hī yā' we.*
(G) (H) yó hyo, *yó wa hī yá* (Repeat several times.)
tci'łakkobaí'ka, *ámo'padédjes.*
[my] mule, saddle him for me.
háyapołákko, *djóládjīófan.*
[on the] prairie big, when we get there,
yánasadjifa'kna, *ílīdjaófan.*
buffalo young bull,[1] when I kill him.
tcáhaiwa, ítskī, *tēnhambīófan.*
my wife's mother, when we eat together,
tcáhanīófa, *wásasīmíkko.*
when she scolds me. Osage chief,
ínhadí'sinófa, *wásasosa'lgi.*
when I become his son-in-law, many little Osages,
ódjutskaiófan.
when I made them.
háyadidjałákka, *hádjahálwadjófa.*
morning star big, when it is rising,
pínadjadjahóga, *djā'hoginpó'hät.*
old turkey gobbler. when I hear him gobbling.
ámīdjalíska, *a'ngałonáyid.*
my old gun, I start with it on my shoulder.
ayí'bit, *ī'łołaiófa.*
I'll go along, when I get there,
ídoładjiłákko, *hí'djät.*
[on] tree limb big. I'll see him.
ídohwī'łan, *isī''djät.*
on a tree standing, I'll see him.
hásmīlä'yät, *īdjä'hät.*
I'll aim at him, I'll shoot him.
łahä't ilīdjätłółut, *tcā'haiwa ítskī.*
when I shoot him, I'll kill him, turning. My wife's mother.
laidjogósdjät, *līsalagaófa.*
I'll take it on my back, when I get there
tcáhadjawa'lgi, *pínhokpīabíswa.*
my sisters-in-law, turkey breast meat
dínhambīófa, *sídihanīófan.*
when we eat it together, when they begin quarreling,
sídibóhin, *ísnafä'kät.*
fighting with each other, I'll knock them about.
ándalogī'bit, (Whoop.)
I'll eat it all up myself.

This ends the song except for some repetitions of he'ya wa *héya,* which also interrupts the text in a few places, acting as a sort of pause.

[1]The informant gave " young bull elephant " for this.

The sense of the above primitive lyric song is not very clearly expressed in the interlinear translation. The singer changes his tense, mood and voice at random. First he orders his mule saddled to hunt buffalo on the prairie. Then he depicts the scene with his mother-in-law when they eat together and ends with a quarrel. For revenge he goes off, marries an Osage chief's daughter and raises children. Next the scene changes to an early morning when he is hunting turkeys. After getting one he packs it to his old home and leaves it among his sisters-in-law. They fall to quarreling over the breast meat, whereupon he takes the opportunity of knocking them about and eating it all up himself to pay off old scores. The song appeals profoundly to Indian humor and is well known among the northern Creek towns.

21. Oba'nga hā'djo CRAZY DANCE.

Another dance song of this class is the following from the repertoire of Laslie Cloud. In the second song (B) alternating with the nonsense syllables as given, the leader waxes confidential about some girl of his town, but the text was not obtained.

The burden is :

(A) *hówe* go yáᴱ a le

(B) yóha lī ne

áhī ya ha lī′ne

(The words of the song alternate with the above syllable groups. Only a fragment of the text can be given.)

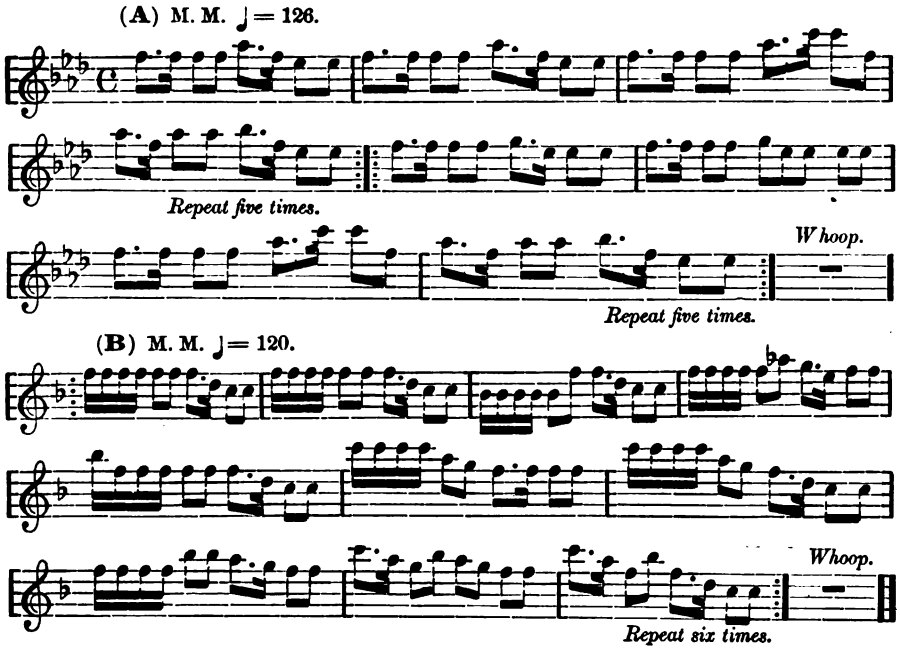
hágin safótki

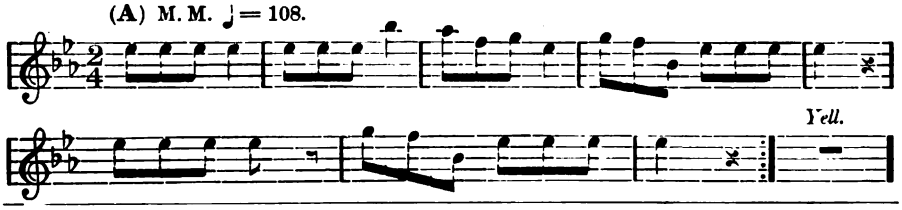
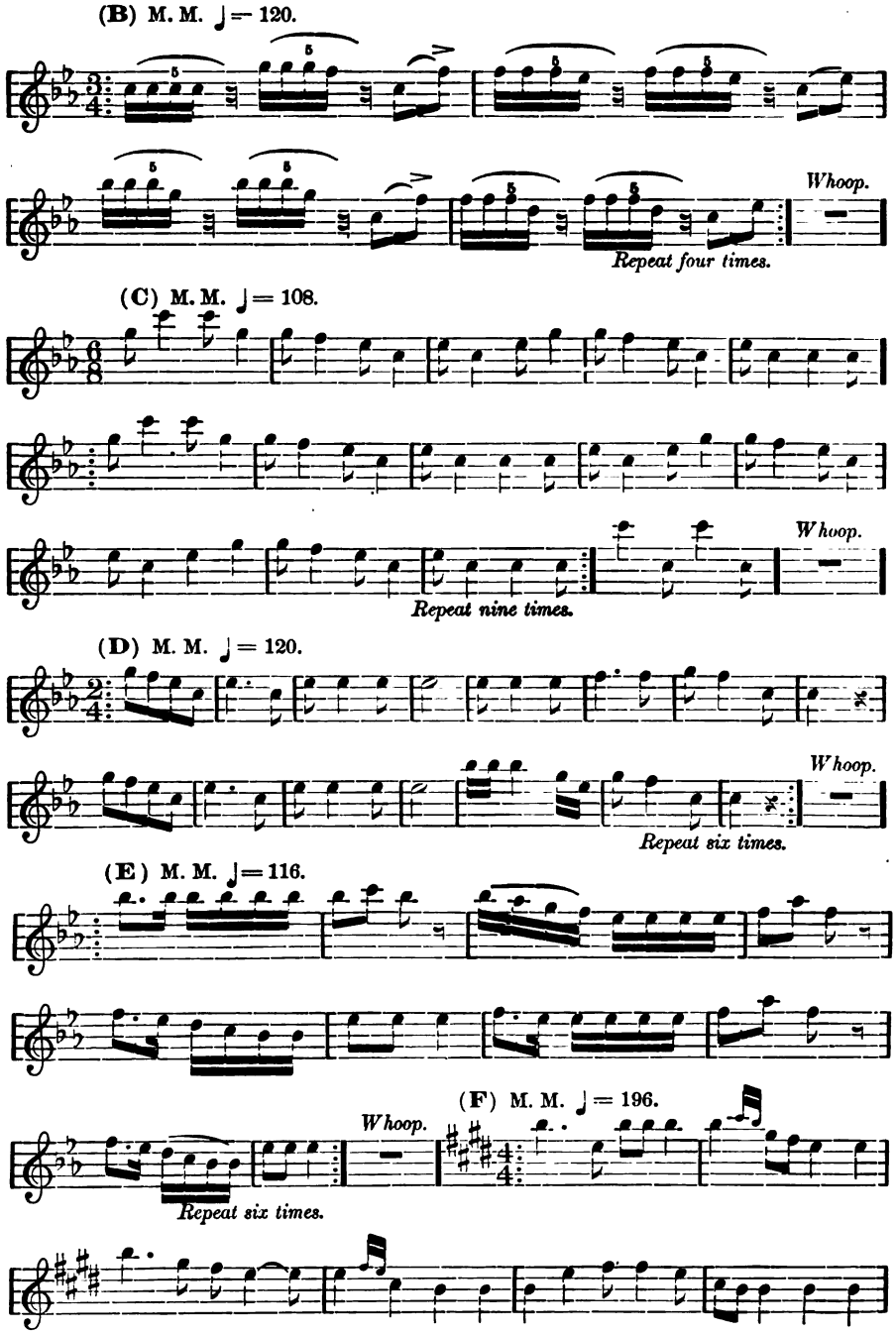
noise ?

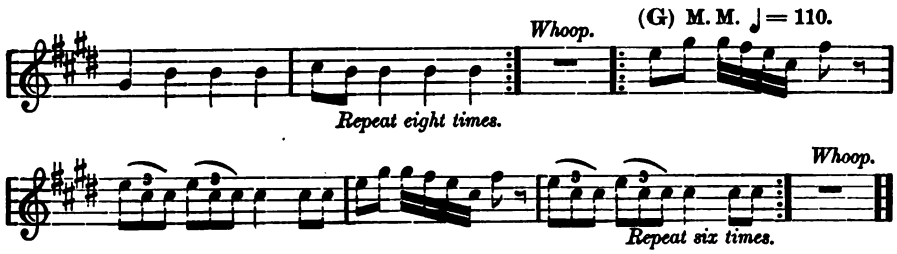
hwī′djada fuski

? sharp

3. (Second Version.)

A duplicate version of this song is offered to show how various renderings differ in details.

22. Hā′djobanga[1] DRUNKEN DANCE.

The main features of this dance are like those of the others. The participants follow the leader in a circle around the fire. Drumming and rattling go with it and two women wear the leg rattles. The dancers reel, jostle one another and act in general like drunken men. Oftentimes they do not need to act it as they usually dance this at a time when many have been drinking. It seems to be entirely a pleasure dance, probably of modern origin, embracing perhaps some idea of propitiation. As in the Crazy Dance, the remarks on which also apply to this, the leader may compose words for the song, improvise on the spot, or merely keep up a meaningless burden with a few expressions here and there. The songs are usually ludicrous, sometimes telling a story or some clownish anecdote.

[1]Ha′dji means 'drunken'.

(B) M. M. ♩= 120.
Whoop.
Repeat four times.
(C) M. M. ♩= 108.
Whoop.
Repeat nine times.
(D) M. M. ♩= 120.
Whoop.
Repeat six times.
(E) M. M. ♩= 116.
Whoop.
(F) M. M. ♩= 196.
Repeat six times.



The syllables and words of one version are:

(A) hó lī na wé *yó wa hī yä.* (whoop at end).

(B) hé ga ya *ká yo wá li.* (twice).

gīłago djahádjí

I don't know any thing I am drunk

nákhomī temískī

something strong · we drink together

ístamáhedoháks. (whoop at end.)

something wonderful, is it not?

Repeat with the following in which one of the women is supposed to be speaking:

we hé *yo na.* (four times.)

hahwébage, djakédjiba.

let us go, she says to me,

djahésigo.

I have no husband.

djíndaba łamónäyas. (man supposed to be speaking.)

your bed, tell me where it is.

djihA'de néne łamónäyas. (whoop at end.)

your home road, tell me where it is.

(C) nó he *yó le.* (first five bars.)

djīhi waka súmhogi ałis. (woman supposed to be speaking.)

my husband lies down, [I will] run away from him and wander.

djéhe läga súmhogi ała.

my husband stays home, [I will] run away and wander.

djáhe läga súmhogi ális. (man supposed to be speaking, whoops at end.)

my wife stays home, [I will] run away and wander.

(D) hó ya wé. (repeat a number of times.)

łīsalä'gosin tcinhä'sin. (from here on through (E) man is supposed to be speaking.)

when the moon rises I'll cohabit with you,

yá nade gA'n nálkabadégosin tcinhäsin.

here in the entire abdomen. in the centre of the body. I'll cohabit with you.

(E) yá li go *yá no he.* (repeat a number of times.)

nódjałis nſłi hámgosäs.
I'll sleep with you night just one
níni dímbosäs.
road close to
nſłi óstosäs.
night just four
djógo lískosa.
[in that] house old
nſłi pálosäs łisnódjäs. (whoop at end.)
night just ten I'll sleep with you.
(F) łī' so sá ye (or) *hé go dá li he.*
łī' so gá li he.
éhe débkadjoks *djikaí hodjikaí hosa.* (an outsider is here supposed to be speaking.)
husband will whip her they say of you, they say of you.
éhe náfkodjoge *djigẽ' hodjigẽ' esa.* (whoop.)
husband will strike you they say of you, they say of you.
(G) há li na *wé ya he* (and)
yó ha li na *wẽ́ ẽ' he he ya.*
djínhokoígesa *djigẽ' hodjigẽ' esa.*
you he will call. they say of you, they say of you.
héhenoẽ'gesa *djigẽ' hodjigẽ' esa* (whoop at end.)
when you are called (?) they say of you, they say of you.

An interesting feature of this song is the rôle played by the leader in which he impersonates a man, then a woman and finally an outsider or public opinion. The chorus of dancers follow along as best they can with the song, or else sing *he ya* or some common burden syllables, at the end of each phrase if they do not know the words. Through long popularity, however, this kind of song is generally well known. The words are given as they were heard without any attempt to normalize the variant renderings..

YUCHI DANCE SONGS.

The following small collection of Yuchi dance songs was obtained from Ekīłané "It has left me," a second chief, Kū'ba, "Creek Indian," and Fagó^{ɛ}o^{n}wī', "Comes out of the thicket," and Jim Tiger. The main features of the dances to which these songs belong are about the same as those of the neighboring Creeks of Taskigi town, which have already been described.[1] The music, however, judging from what is available, seems to differ materially, the Yuchi songs lacking the vigor of the Creek. Owing to the close proximity of the two peoples they participated frequently in each other's dances. Now that the Taskigi have given up their own ceremonies they attend those of the Yuchi, generally using their own songs when invited to lead dances.

The musical instruments employed by the two peoples in their dances are identical. In regard to the town square-ground which is at the same time the dance area, there are some points of difference which should be noted. The Yuchi square-ground has only three brush-covered lodges, one at the north side, facing inward, one at the south, and one at the west, but none at the eastern edge.[2]

Phonetic Key to Yuchi.

Glottal catch^{ɛ}, *k* and *g* surd and sonants similar to the English; *t* and *d*, and *p* and *b* rather difficult to distinguish as to their surd and sonant quality; *c* like English sh; surd *tc* like English "ch" in "church;" *dj* corresponding sonant; *s*, *ts*, *f*, *n*, *l*, and *dz* similar to the English sounds; ł as in Creek, as are the semivowels. The vowels have the same quality as in Creek except *ä*, which is like ä in English "fan." Vowel prolongation is marked by a dot following, ·, and !, and accent by ′.

1. Dätoɛä′ ctī. Big Turtle Dance.

This dance is the first and most formal dance to be performed on the occasion of the annual ceremonies. It is in honor of a creature called Big Turtle, Dätoɛä′, a supernatural horned reptile, denoted in Yuchi as a turtle

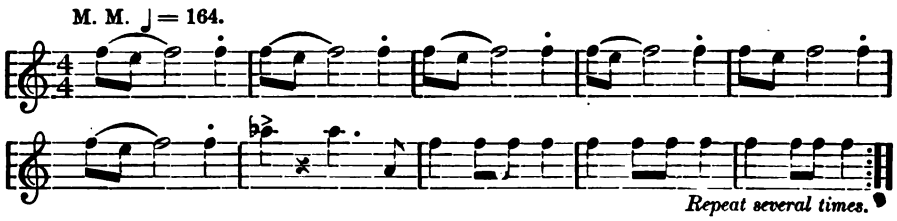
[1] For an independent account of Yuchi dancing, see pp. 124-130, 112-113.

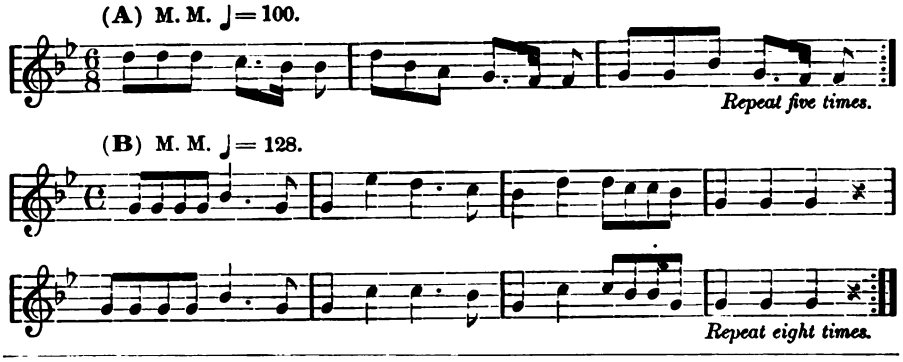
[2] See pp. 111, 118, also Plates XI et seq.

though having a snake-like body, which figures conspicuously in southeastern mythology. This being is associated with the rainbow, storms, thunder, lightning and also disease. A stuffed deerskin effigy of the creature colored blue rested on the ground in front of the north lodge of the town square, in former times.

As I have given a more detailed account of this dance in Part One of this volume, an abstract from the original source[1] will convey a clearer idea of the scene.

The dancers, grouping themselves about the leader who sings and rattles, form a compact mass and begin moving in a circle. A woman with the leg rattles, joins the throng of dancers when they start to circle in single file about the fire contra-clockwise. When the leader finishes the first song he whoops and the dancers disperse for a short interval. Soon the leader begins circling the fire, singing the introduction (A) and the dancers who have been resting, seated in the lodges on the square-ground, file in again behind him. No drumming accompanies this dance.

The following version of the song was sung by Kū'ba.

The above is a sort of gathering song which is continued as long as the dancers are grouped closely on the corner of the square-ground. The syllables are yó hyo, *hó'* (the chorus joining vigorously on hó').

When the leader breaks out of this group and starts dancing and rattling toward the fire he changes the tune to the following, which is continued until the end of the first dance.

[1]See pp. 119, 111 and Plate XII, 1 and 2.

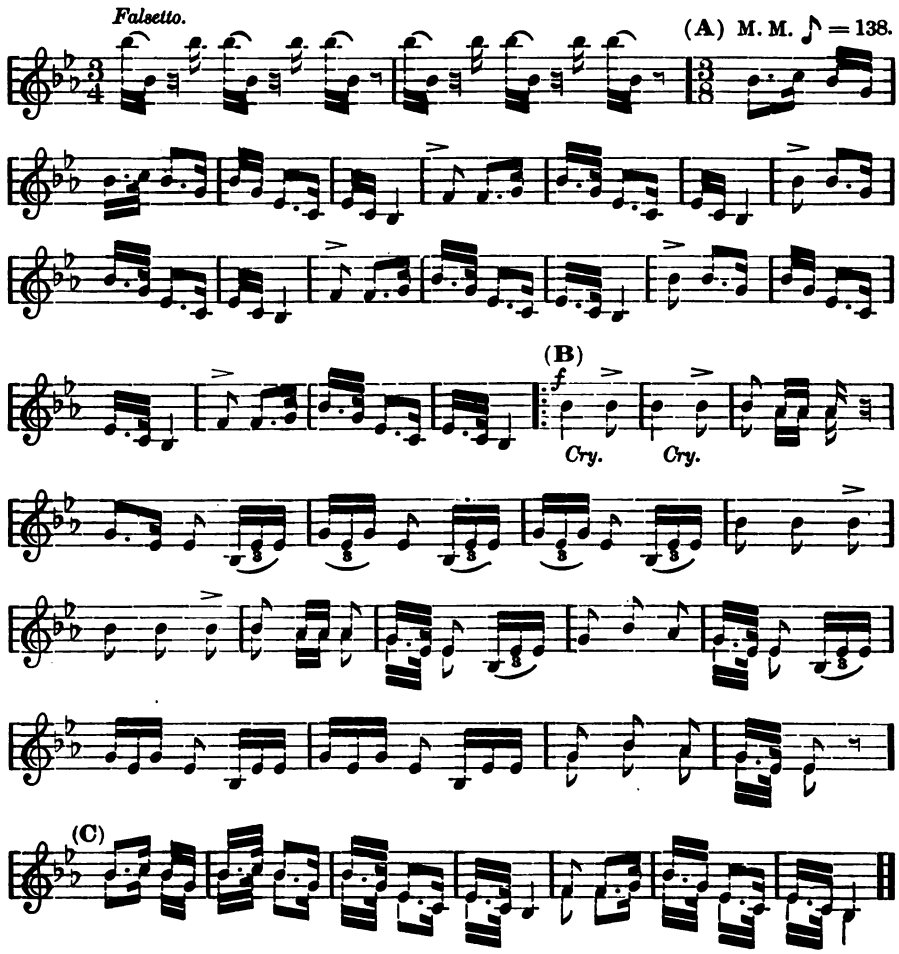
The burden syllables are:

(A) ho yá nĭ yo *yä nä.*

(B) hé yo wé hä
or hĭ yó, we hä' } *yá le hă* or *yó he yä.*

2. Cūcpá ctī. GARFISH DANCE.

The Garfish or Pike, cūcpá, esteemed as a food fish, is honored by a dance in which the rattle, in the hands of the leader, and the small water drum in one of the square-ground lodges accompany the song. So far as observed there are no special features to this dance.

(Duet of treble voices.[1])

[1]Sung by Fagó'o"wĭ and Kū'ba

This song has an introduction shown in the first two bars, the syllables of which are ho hó, ha há, he hé, hä hä′, ho hó, uttered rapidly by the leader while walking about the dance circle before commencing the song proper. The leader sings the first syllables, the chorus of dancers alternate with the underlined ones. The song begins at (A) with the unmeaning burden of

we he *ya ho lī na.*

At (B) several cries begin the strain, after which the burden syllables are:

we há yo *háyo na.*

At the fifth and sixth bars the cry wɪ hē hó‘ is given twice.

At (C) the syllables of (A) are repeated.

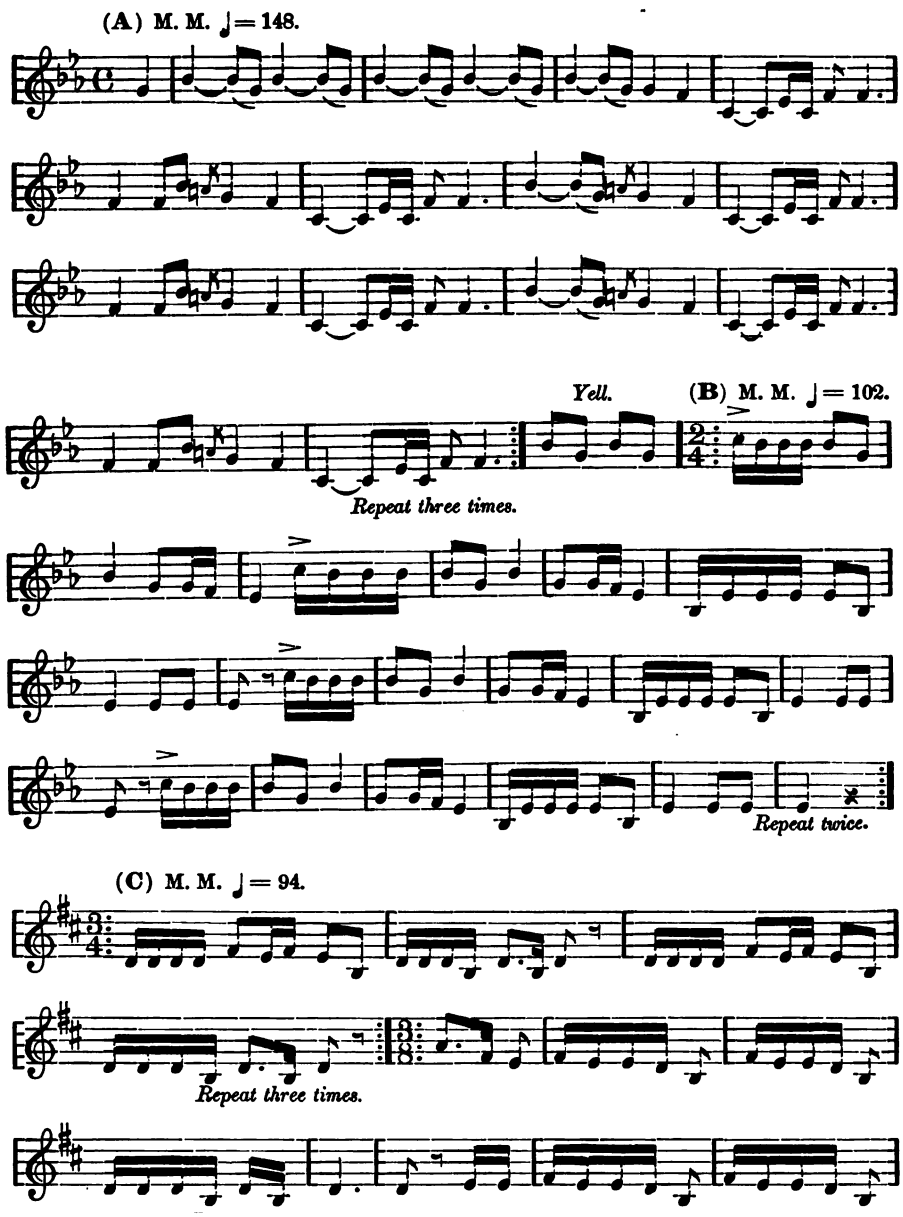
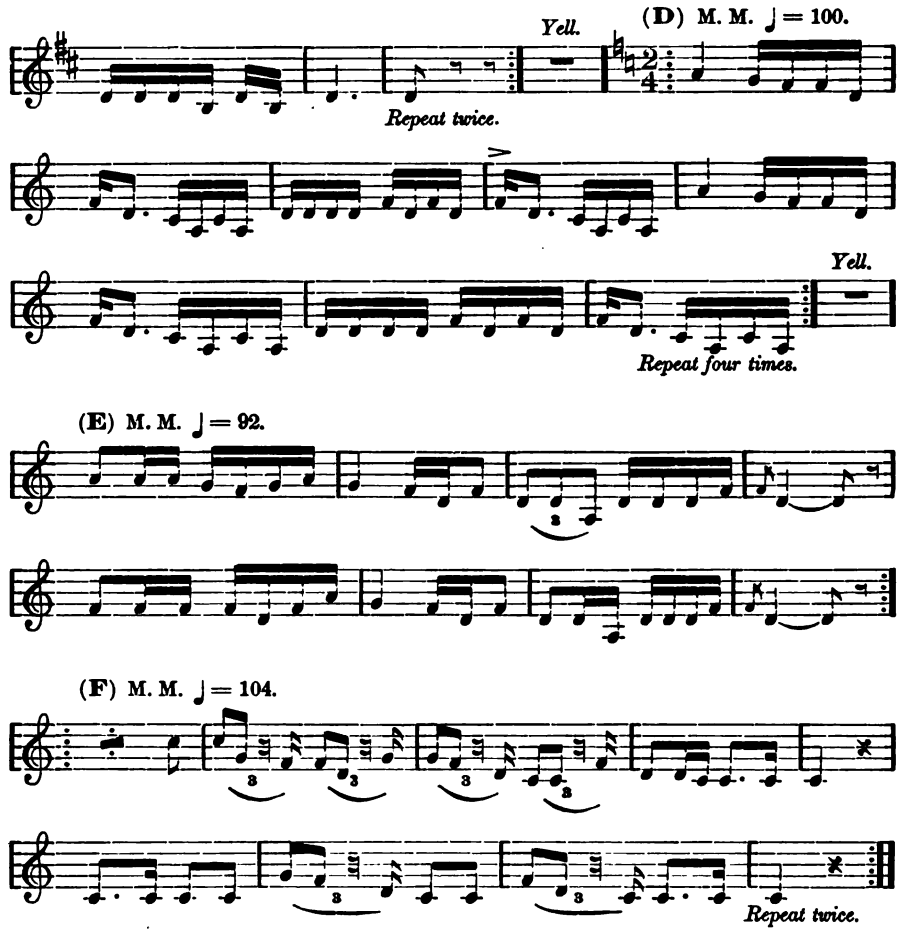
3. Tsebé^{n}bené ctī. DRUNKEN DANCE.

A favorite dance with not only the Yuchi, but also the Creeks and probably other southern tribes, is one known as the Crazy or Drunken Dance. To most Indians this is purely a pleasure dance. The men who participate in it are usually as much under the influence of whiskey as they can get, the idea of the thing being to submit directly to its mysterious magic inflatus. The use of whiskey among the Creeks and Yuchi as a stimulant to the senses as well as to the singing and motions of the dancers, seems to be similar to that of mescal or peyote among the tribes farther southwest. Not all of the dancers, however, become drunk nor is it even necessary to have drink. The aim of the dancers seems to be to reach a high pitch of excitement, which is, of course, helped out by whiskey. With the Creeks this and the Crazy Dance are supposed to be the occasion for taking extreme liberties with the persons of women participants, but with the Yuchi the feeling appeared to be somewhat milder, though its obscene side was not entirely lacking.

There are, as at all such gatherings, some women whose chief object in coming to the dances is to gratify their passions with different men, and it may be with the Yuchi at any rate that this dance, coming usually among the later performances in the small hours of the morning, occurs at a time and under conditions that are naturally less restrained. I presume, though, since one has to judge from a relative standpoint, that by some the conclusion of this dance upon certain occasions would be described as a scene of uproarious debauchery.

The leader accompanies his song with the hand rattle. Two women with the leg rattles enter the line of dancers at their third or fourth circuit, coming from between the north and east lodge. They fall in directly behind the leader and keep time stamping each foot vigorously. The volume of sound is quite intense. Before the first song is concluded these women leave the file, only to return again as before when the second song has gotten started.

While no words nor expressions appear in the version offered, it is never-

theless a common practice in this dance to introduce ideas, sometimes of a suggestive obscene nature, sometimes in ridicule of different persons.[1]

[1] See p. 129.

The meaningless syllables of each song vary between several slightly different groups. They are:

(A) yō′ wa hī } *yā′ hī ye* (and)
yō′ we hī }

(B) hō′ wa lī na yā′ hī ye *ya′ hī ye* (and)
hō′ ya lī na yā′ hwē *yā′ hī ye* and *yō′ we he yā′*

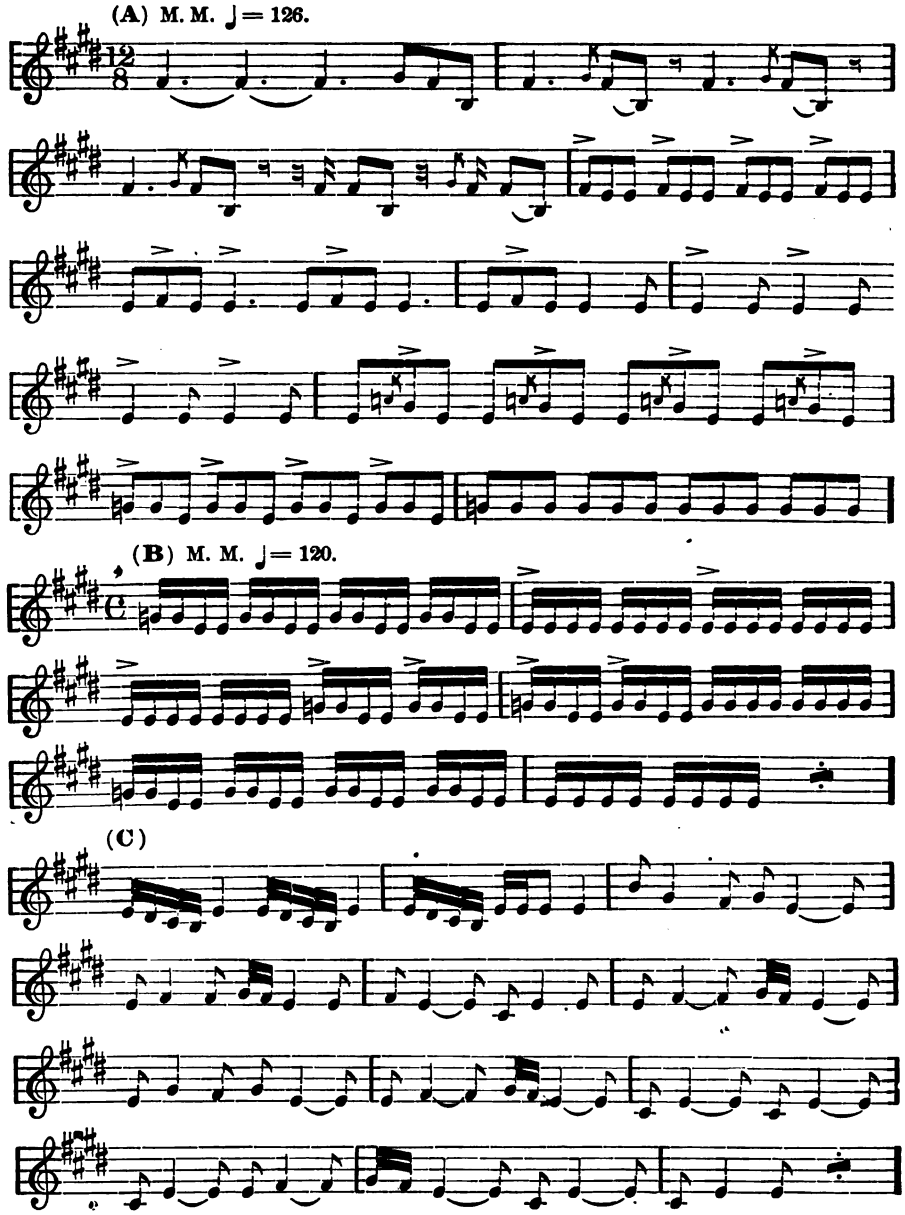
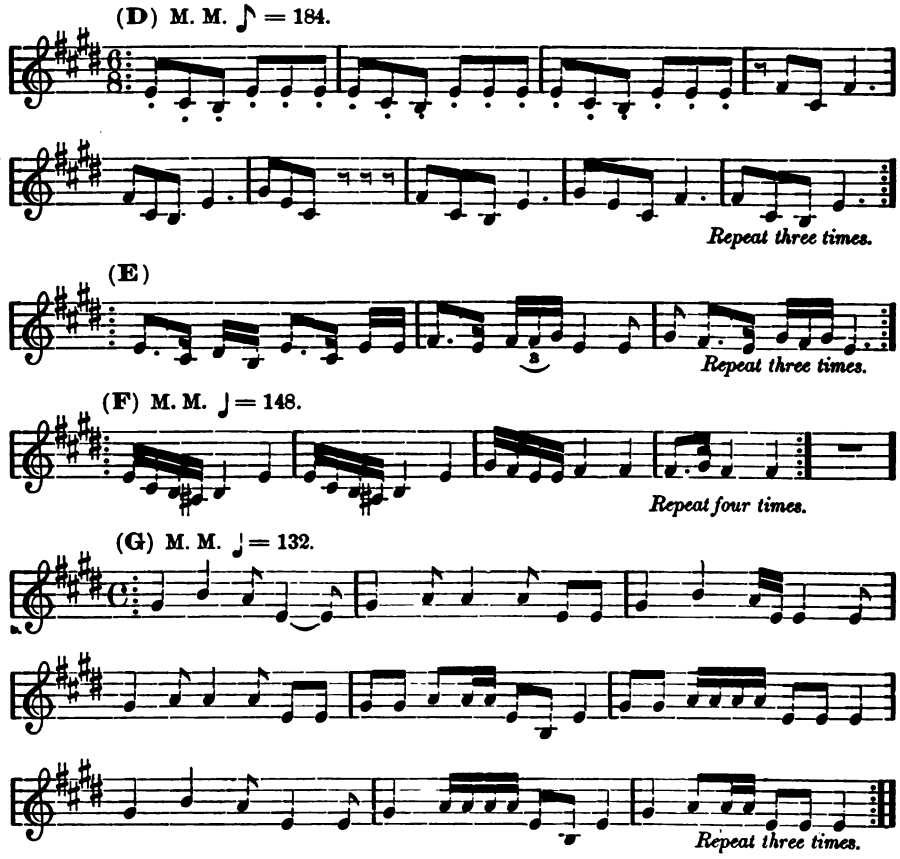
(C) yá le ha, yō′ hō we he (and)
hō′ we, yā′ ha we.

(D) yō′ na na, hē′ na na.

(E) hā′ we yā wä *ya hē′ hē ye* (and)
hō′ we ya hó we *ya hē′ he.*

(F) há na ho wā′ li *yō′ wa lī ha′′.*

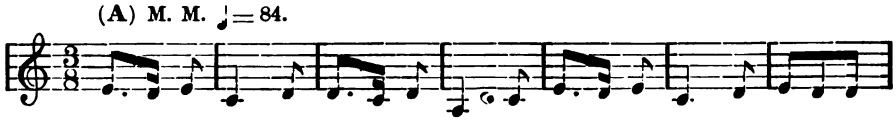
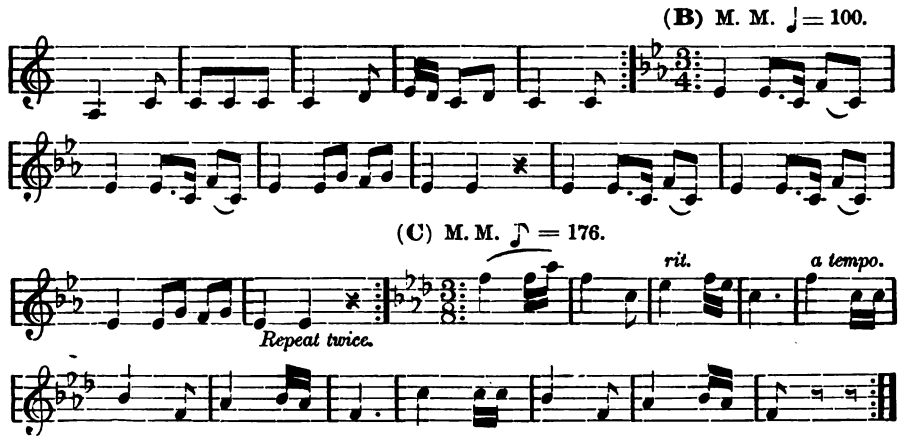
4. YUCHI DANCE SONG.

The following is a typical Yuchi round dance song. It was sung by Kū'ba, who often used it when invited to lead, but he assigned no particular name or function to it. An accompaniment was provided by the drum and hand rattle.

The meaningless syllables are:

(A) Introduction consisting of repeated yō′ hyō, ā′ hye, wē′ hä, a hī yá^{ɛ}ä and other similar variable combinations.
(B) yó ya lī hä.
(C) hó ho a hó hä, hé he hé a he.
(D) wé hä yó wa lī hä.
(E) há we le hä.
(F) há hi ya hä′, á hi ya hä′.
(G) hī′ we yū′ le, hī′ we yá^{ɛ} e, ha yó ha.

5. Yuchi Dance Song.

The following is another typical round dance song sung by Fagó^{ɛ}o^{n}wī′.

(A) M. M. ♩ = 84.

The syllables are:

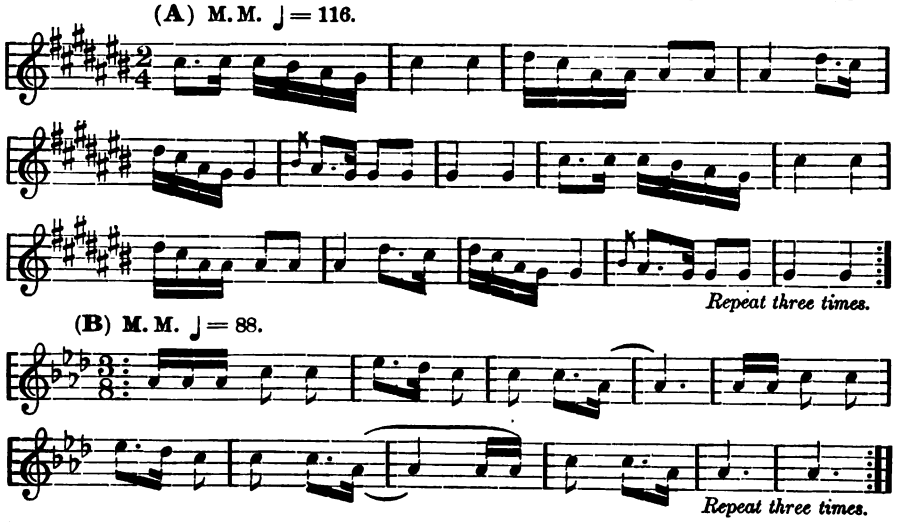
(A) Introduction with repetitions of yō hō, ya hwē' lī,
há hī yo, a hī yá^{g}e.

(B) he yó li yó hä
he yó we hi ya lä } varying repetitions.
we há yo na.

(C) ká yo wa lī, yó wa lī hé.

6. Wâtsoné ctī. Ball Game Dance.

The following dance takes place just before the racket ball game[1] is begun. The players, with their ball sticks in hand, stripped and ornamented for the contest, dance about their goal posts to surround them with protective magic.



[1]See p. 86.

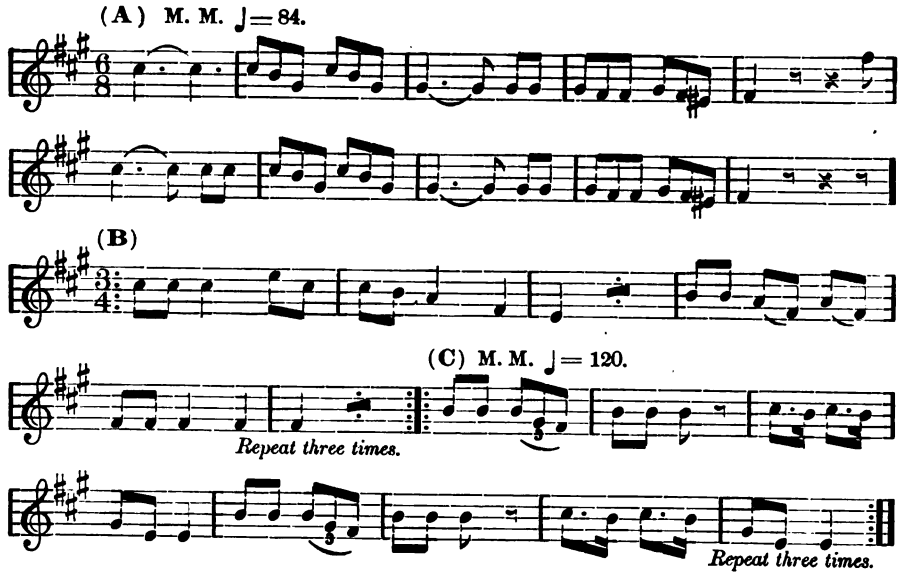
The syllables are:

(A) yó we dó na he·[1]

(B) hé go ya na hé·

7. Ba'té ctī. HORSE DANCE.[2]

In honor of the horse, ba' té, literally 'toe one,' the Yuchi perform a propitiatory dance. The dancers trot around behind the leader who accompanies his song with a hand rattle. The drum is also beaten in time. At the end of the song they grunt like stallions.



The burden of this song is:

(A) he yó lī he, yá nī na, yó ha lé na.

(B) yó we he, we yó we hé$^{\varepsilon}$ e.

(C) yó wa lī, ha yá lī na, yá lī na.

[1]A dot after a vowel indicates extreme length.

[2]In p. 127 the Creek Horse Dance is given under the heading of a Yuchi dance. While many Creek songs are used at the Yuchi ceremonies, it will be seen from the above version, which was unavailable at the time of writing, that there is considerable difference between some of the Creek and Yuchi songs having the same name.

CREEK MEDICINE SONGS AND FORMULAS

The following medicine songs and formulas as well as the dance songs were obtained in 1905 by purchase from Kabi'tcīmáła, whose fame as a shaman or doctor was no less than his renown as dance leader and town chief.

A considerable proportion of the text material, and the information concerning the whole, has already been published in a general paper dealing with the ethnology of the Taskigi Creeks.[1] Since, however, it has become possible to have the music for the entire set of songs, transcribed, besides the texts of twice as many as at first, it seems advisable for the sake of completeness to incorporate in this paper the entire collection, including the data already presented together with the new information resulting from a more thorough acquaintance with the field.

As to the theory of disease we find that the Creeks hold ideas similar at bottom to those of most American tribes. Pain or disease, núkkī, is believed to be caused by some noxious matter or some disturbing influence transferred into the body of the sufferer by some animal, spirit or malevolent person. Animals are thought to be at times offended at the actions of people, for which they inflict disease. Besides, there are various classes of supernatural creatures, little people, sprites, monsters of water and earth, which are evilly disposed toward human beings, for which reason they in turn inflict disease. And lastly there are people who to revenge themselves, or, for personal reasons, are either able by themselves to inflict disease by magic means or, lacking the power, hire a shaman to do it for them. According to the origin myth (see p. 237) when the various animals and creatures, during the mythical age, arbitrarily introduced disease upon the earth they incidentally agreed to make cures or medicines, consisting of song formulas which appeal to the animal or spirit causers and herb medicines or magic objects which are steeped in a decoction and drunk by the sufferer to act through sympathetic magic objectively upon the disease. The causes embrace, as will be seen from the myth, a variety of creatures and objects: panther, wildcat, cat, bear, hog, raccoon, opossum, sky hog (a sidereal being ?), horse, beaver, otter, dog, deer, yearling deer, bird, owl, turkey, buzzard, fish, snakes in general, water moccasin, water wolf (evidently some reptile) and rattle snake. Other more general animal causes are small water creatures, seashore creatures, water creatures, and game animals, while besides there are,

[1]See M.A.A.A. pp. 121-133.

rainbow, spirits, living people, what is inside of you, fire, and various kinds of dirt or earth.[1] The knowledge of the proper songs and the herbs or magic objects to go with them, as well as the power to diagnose the causes of disorder, was acquired by certain people in mythical times who have since transferred their pharmacopeia and secrets from generation to generation down to the present day. The practice of medicine with its secrets is now an activity retained in the possession of persons who have either actually invented outright their own songs, herb cures and treatments, or those who have inherited or bought the profession from another. There do not seem to be any particular religious restraints in connection with the ordinary medicine practice so far as I have learned, nor were there any medicine man's societies or organizations. Sometimes a man, having learned a few cures and operated them with success a few times, may decide to improve his opportunities, learn more and become a practitioner. From some well known shaman he may buy or learn some formulas and botanic secrets, which, together with a few inventions of his own, may earn him a fair reputation and establish him as a shaman, alíkdja, or owála,[2] or doctor in his town. Such in general was the career of Kabi'tcīmáła.

People when afflicted with sickness, unless they are able to treat themselves with some simples which are commonly known amongst them, pay a visit to some shaman to have the cause ascertained and removed. The shaman's method of procedure is, in general, about as follows: By secret means and a little well directed questioning he will determine what the trouble is and its nature, judging from the sufferer's symptoms. An exceptionally clever doctor can diagnose from personal effects, a shirt, hair and the like. When the complaint is understood he knows what creature is responsible. As will be seen from an inspection of the list of symptoms and assigned causes, the method of diagnosis seems to be backward, tracing the trouble to some creature with whom the same symptoms are characteristic. For instance, indigestion is attributed to the hog, who is a notorious glutton; sleeplessness is attributed to the raccoon whose habit is to roam at night, whose eyes are deeply ringed from lack of sleep; colic and flatulency are attributed to the horse, who is naturally prone to the same; rheumatism in one form is blamed upon fawns or yearling deer whose gait indicates stiffness of the joints; while diarrhea is traced to birds and constipation to the beaver, from the quality of their respective excrements. In not all of the cases, however, is the line of connection clear. Accordingly the shaman, having ascertained the cause, and knowing what medicinal agents go with the formula to charm away the trouble, proceeds to gather his herbs and steep them in a pot of water. The interesting notion of sympathetic influence

[1]This has particular reference to the earth dug out of graves, which is thought to convey rheumatism through contact. Different colored clays and soils are also meant.

[2]Also hílis háya, "medicine maker."

runs all through these as well. We find, for instance, that among the herbs used in the decoctions, most of them, either in form or in name, are connected like fetishes with the cause. So for indigestion caused by the hog, a plant called 'hog ear' is used; for rheumatism caused by the deer, 'deer potato' is used; for headache caused by the sun, sunflower is used; for diarrhea caused by birds, a bird's nest is used, and so on. While the connection between many of the vegetable substances and the causes, in name at least, is quite apparent, there are nevertheless some in which it is quite obscure, and it is among these latter that we meet with some herbs which are medicinally effective. The

FIG. 3.—Shaman's Medicine Pot.

interesting problem of origin here presents itself, in discussion of which it seems plausible that with the accidental discovery of the beneficial effects of certain herbs, like wild cherry bark for colds, red willow for a physic, and ginseng for a narcotic, the beginnings of pharmaceutics had developed from the use of what were originally mere fetishes. I may, indeed, be underrating the actual virtues of some of these quasi-scientific herb remedies. Some of them are known and employed for similar troubles not only by distant Indian tribes but by white country folk who have evidently acquired them from the Indians in colonial times. In the medicine practices of neighboring southern tribes as well as Cherokee,[1] Yuchi,[2] Chickasaw, and undoubtedly others when we know more

[1]Cf. Mooney, "Sacred Formulas of the Cherokee," Seventh Annual Rep. Bur. Amer. Ethnology (1885-6). This material, offering the only source so far available in comparing southern practices, is on the whole fundamentally similar to the Creek. The Cherokee medicine origin myth (*ibid.*, p. 319) is distantly similar. The formulas, however, are not sung. A discussion of the medicinal properties of the herbs concerned (*ibid.*, p. 328) is given by Mooney.

[2]See p. 132. With the above, the Osages, Kansas and neighboring southern plains tribes (Cf. "Manners and Customs of Several Indian Tribes," etc. J. D. Hunter, Phila., 1823, pp. 368-402), and the Ojibways (Cf. The "Midéwiwin," etc., of the Ojibway, W. J. Hoffman, Seventh Annual Rep. Bur. Amer. Ethnology, 1885-6) present certain similarities in the use of herbs.

about them, the use of herbs is found associated with the idea that 'like cures like,' under various guises with different details.

The shaman then, after collecting his medicines and steeping them in a pot of water (Fig. 3), produces his blow-pipe (Fig. 4), a section of cane about thirty inches in length, and, in the secrecy of his private quarters, lest someone else learn the procedure, sings a magic song or repeats a formula over the draught, between verses giving the decoction a blowing through the pipe to make it bubble up with air. The virtue of the song is thought to be transferred into the medicine, hili'swa, which is then ready to be administered to the patient internally and sometimes externally too. According to Kabi'tcĭmáła the shaman's purpose is to throw the disease out of the sufferer into some animal,but not the one that causes it, lest he send it back with doubled severity. In regard to the words of the songs little in detail can be said. In most cases they express disconnected ideas, sometimes descriptive of the animal cause, sometimes as though the shaman were describing its movements which he is watching from a distance. Frequently the song is more of a petition, with a

FIG. 4.—Shaman's Blowing Tube.

reverential tone, acting upon the sympathies of the causing agent, while again it may contain slurs and ridicule. A most important feature, however, is the cardinal symbolism which is commonly repeated in conjunction with the name of the animal cause. The number four probably derived from this source dominates in Creek ritual. North, Kasapō'fa, 'where it is cold,' is black; South, nigátōfa, 'where it burns (?),' is red; East, hasósa, 'sunrise,' is white, and West, hasakalátka, 'sun sinks into the water,' is yellow.

Shamans expect payment when their cures have been successful, the amount generally depending upon the generosity of their patients. They are said to be hired sometimes to cause disease in others, not infrequently having been known to do so of their own accord for personal reasons. When accused of using their powers in this direction it was customary formerly to put them to death. As with other tribes, Creek shamans often held contests to test their powers with rivals. Love and hunting songs as well as charms are, nowadays as in the past, dealt in by them.

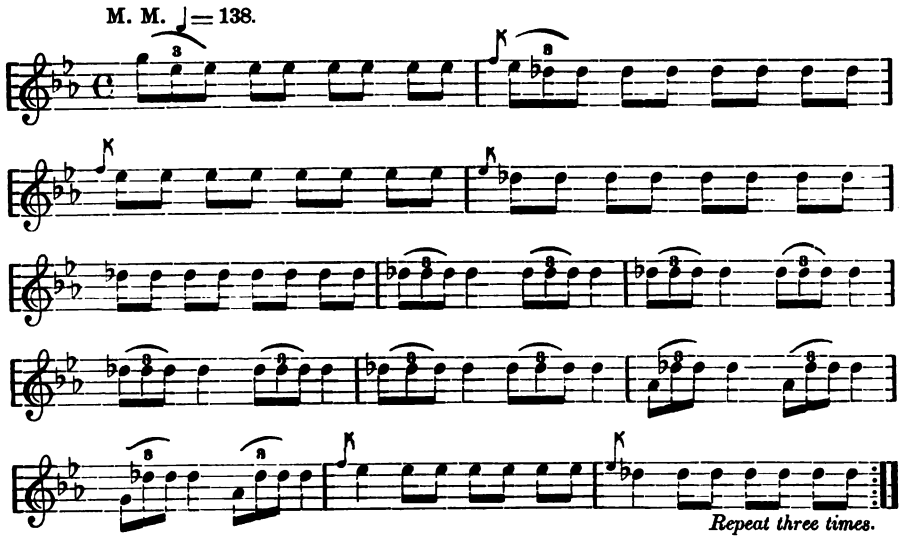
The professional paraphernalia of the Creek medicine man consisted simply of pottery vessels, a cane blow-pipe or two and quantities of dried roots, leaves, bark, twigs and the like. These objects, however, were not preserved with any particular reverence, the whole shamanistic practice among the Taskigi lacking the highly colored ceremonial side so strong among the plains tribes.

Regarding the texts themselves it should be noted that the grammatical forms are in many places mutilated by assimilation, dissimilation, elision, change of accent and vowel length, to accommodate the words to the music, or through conventionality in utterance.

The texts in a good many instances were by no means clear to the informant himself, evidently having suffered through considerable 'shaman's license,' in consequence of which they, and the translations, are given as recorded without any attempt to harmonize them.

The following collection of songs represents a portion of the property of one shaman and probably contains much that is purely individual matter.

1. Súkha alē'dja. HOG THE CAUSE.

Indigestion is caused by the hog, súkha. As a medicine to be drunk by the patient the whole plant of súkha hátsko, 'hog ear' (Hierocicum scouleri), is steeped in the vessel of water. The magic blowing is accompanied by the following song. In this formula we have an excellent example of the association of three ideas according to Creek philosophy, the hog's gluttony, human indigestion, and the curative property of some plant having a name connected with that of the hog. Neither the text nor the translation lay claim to correctness throughout owing to the rapidity of utterance and indistinctness.

Djī'mundáhalī'nomī' (repeated to the sixth bar, then followed by the rest.)

your superiority, as it were.

súkha djūlī.

hog old male.

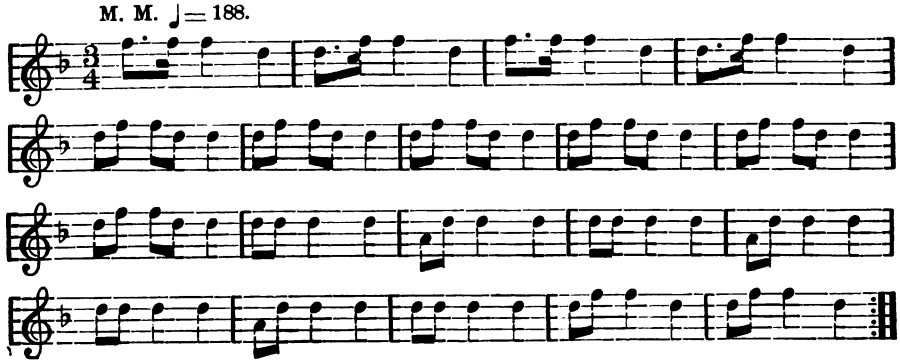
ya wákla dī'.
here he was lying.
ī'laga dji'nomī'.
stretched out, we seem to see him.
dji hówehi'.
your calling (grunting).
hi'lī hi'djinomī'.
foot (we) seem to see him.
ī'lada'ɬī dji'nomī'.
hungry, he roams about, (we) seem to see him.
álaga djínomī'.
stretched out, (we) seem to see him.
nánuckágo hayándomī'.
evil conjuring he seems to be making.
djīmundáhalīnomī' (repeated in the last two bars)
your superiority, as it were.

$A^{n'}$ $A^{n'}$ $A^{n'}$ imitating hogs grunting at the end.

Other verses of this formula are the same in all but the first invocatory words, having in the second, instead of súkha djū'lī, 'hog old male,' as in the verse given above, adjū'lī lánī, 'old male yellow,' in the third adjū'lī lástī, 'old male black,' in the fourth adjū'lī tcā'dī 'old male red,' and in the last adjū'lī hátkī, 'old male white.'

2. Itcā'swalē'dja. BEAVER THE CAUSE.

The beaver, itcā'swa, is considered to be the cause of constipation and soreness of the bowels. The character of the beaver's excrement is thought to be an evidence that he suffers with the complaint which at times he inflicts upon people. A decoction of the roots of akhátka, 'in the water white,' identified as sycamore (Platanus occidentalis), and akdjilaláska, said to be red birch (Betula nigra) is used for medicine. The songs employed to charge the medicine are four in number, each addressed to a different animal though related, in the native classification, to the beaver. This formula is quite a long, though a monotonous one, as there are four verses to each song.

M. M. ♩ = 188.

The words of the verse are:

lā'gadihī' ónabahā' (repeated a number of times.)
he was sitting above.
wahála ᵉahā'.
south.
dja'di ᵉahā'.
red.
itcā'swa ᵉahā'.
beaver.
ilī'dja ᵉahā'.
he kills.
iliá ᵉahā'.
he dies.

The first song consists of the above repeated four times, the second, third and fourth verses indicating the cardinal points and their symbolism. So the rest of the verses have, in their second and third lines, respectively

hasakalátka lā'nī ᵉahā', (the next)
west yellow.
honī'ła' ᵉahā' la'sti ᵉahā', (and the last)
north black.
hasō'sa ᵉahā' hátki ᵉahā'.
east white.

Each of the three succeeding songs are the same as the above in all except the animal invoked in the fourth line. Where the above has itcā'swa, beaver, the second has osā'nna, 'otter,' the third has oksútko, muskrat, and the last has sagí' pa, ermine or stoat.

3. Tcítto alē'dja. SNAKE THE CAUSE.

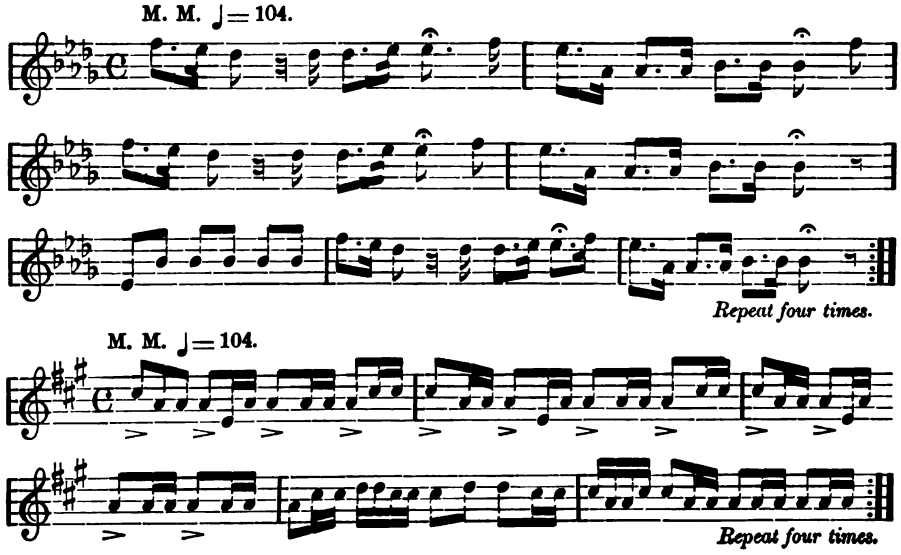
Aching teeth and gums and swollen cheeks are caused by ahálasakáda, the water moccasin (Ancistrodon piscivorus). The analogy between the complaint and the cause, in the swollen poison glands and distended cheeks of this snake, is a close and interesting one. In the objects constituting the medicine too, there is a close imaginary connection with the trouble-producing snake. These are a handful of ído lígwī, 'wood rotten,' and dried leaves, ídiwíssī, 'tree hair,' put in water, blown into, and given to the patient to drink. The ideas of sympathetic magic operate through the resemblance between the snake's form and the tree twigs, its color and the dried leaves.

The charm formula begins with a spoken part, as follows:

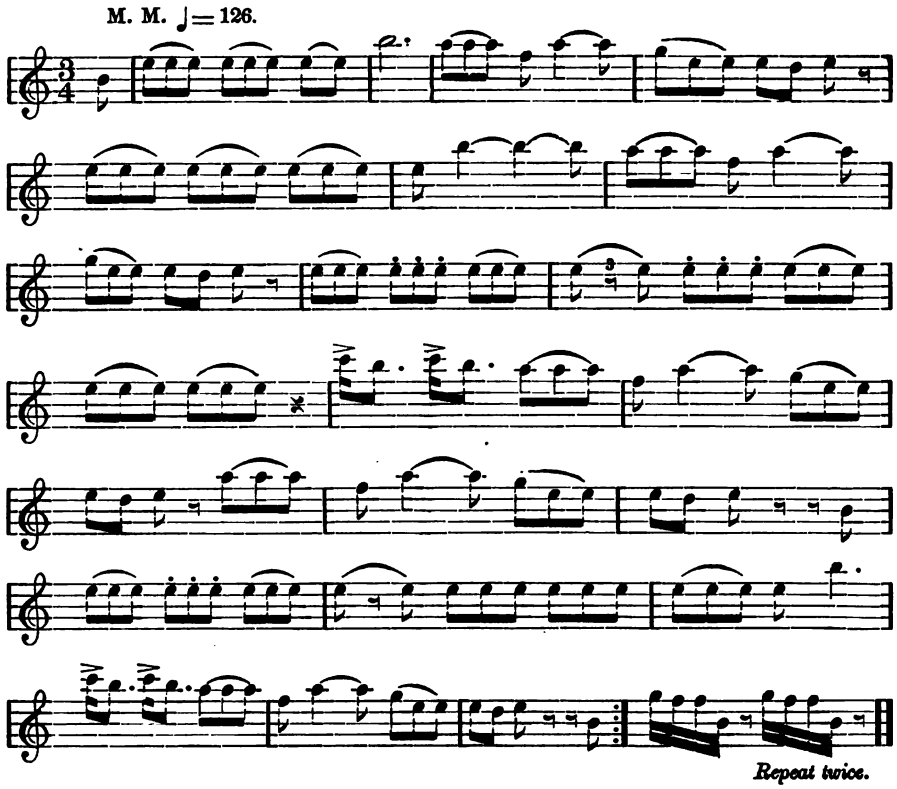
nínoxkulúlwa[1] dī.
in the path he was coiled up.
dómahasokúlulut dī.
on a long stick he was coiled up (?).
wīyófobákolulut dī.
on the edge of the water he was coiled up (?)

[1] x represents a soft palatal spirant.

dīháksamóxkululut ogadī.
around a tree branch he was coiled, it was said.
dīhaugisókolúlut dī.
on a hollow tree he was coiled up.
sifsĭfkit os.
he hisses continuously.
yilagá hágadī'.
lying he made a noise.
djadáphadés.
stone is in the grass.
hīyóxpidadägit.
here coiled up.
yilagá hágadī'
lying he made a noise.
dómahásin.
on a long stick.
īyóxpidadä'git.
here coiled up.
yílaga' hágadī'.
lying he made a noise.
nénahássin.
in the sunny path.
īyóxpidadä'gade.
here coiled up.
sifsk!
hiss!

This is concluded with the subjoined song:

The words are yilagá hágadī, as above, repeated over and over again, occasionally varied with īyóxkolólo hágadī,' 'here coiled he made a noise.' Prolonged hissing ends the charm.

4. Fúswalē'dja. BIRD THE CAUSE.

Birds, fúswa, in general, cause nausea, gripes and diarrhea. The shaman prepares a medicine by steeping some kind of a bird's nest, fus imbognága, in water and blowing into it through his tube, between repetitions of the following song. The patient then has to drink the medicine as usual.

The words of the charm are:

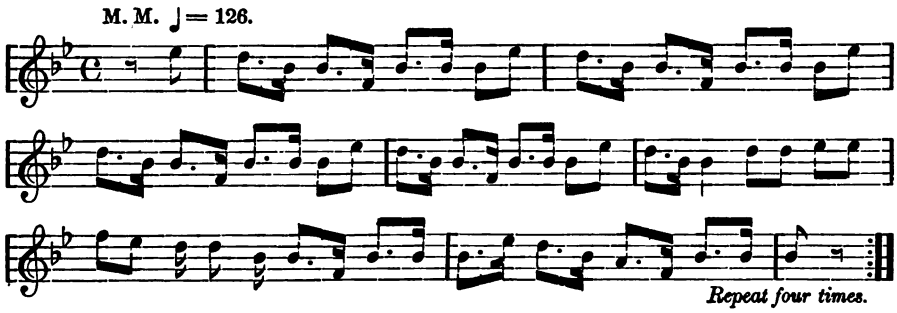
hágidosī'.
they chatter.
hágidáłitógī hagī'.
they chatter and flutter about.
hágidosī' (repeated a number of times).
they chatter.

idA'lwa lä'git áyamó.
their settlement is here.
fulótkit áłidogī.
gathering together they make a fluttering noise.
djil' djil djil' djil.
martin martin.
hágidosī' hágidosī'.
they chatter they chatter.

At the end of the song the singer imitates the blue jay, tási, with *tins ti*^{n}*s* in a deep voice. A variation occurs in the second repetition in the shape of

ĭdalégomA'lga.
grouped together all.
ĭsósĭye dalégosin.
[in the] ashes withering (?)

5. Iganúkkī yahai'gīda.[1] Headache Song.

The deer, ĭ'djo, are believed to cause headache. One of the most important herbs in the Creek pharmacopeia, namely mikoanĭ'dja, 'chief physic' (a species of Salix), possibly red willow, is used in the cure. The root is brewed to the accompaniment of the following song. The shaman repeats the song four times, between each rendering the concoction is given a good blowing through the medicine pipe. The sufferer, then, has to drink quantities of the medicine and have some blown over his head by the shaman. This draught acts both as an emetic and physic, being very commonly used as such by the Creeks, Chickasaw and Yuchi, and no doubt other southern tribes, in their annual harvest ceremony.[2] This song embodies an analogy between a pain in the head and congestion as of clouds in the sky. The shaman invokes the oppressing clouds, of various colors according to the cardinal symbolism, ordering them to scatter.

[1]Literally. 'Head sick, to sing.'

[2]Cf. p. 116, and M.A.A.A. p. 137, and Notes on Chickasaw Ethnology and Folk Lore, F. G. Speck, Journal of American Folk-Lore, vol. xx, 1907.

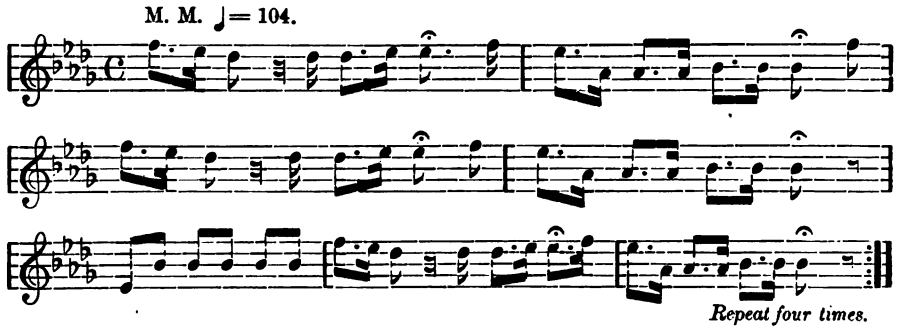
The words are:

hyawáhīyē' (repeated four times before, and several times after, each
scatter. of the following lines.)

ahólodjē	láni	des	awáhin.
clouds	yellow	these	scatter.
hólodjē	djádi	des	awáhin.
clouds	red	these	scatter.
hólodjē	lásti	des	awáhin.
clouds	black	these	scatter.
hólodjē	hátki	des	awáhin.
clouds	white	these	scatter.

Were we to substitute in imagination the cardinal directions invoked by the colors we should have, in the order given above, west, south, north and east.

6. Hássi alē'dja. SUN THE CAUSE.

This is also a headache song where the cause of the trouble is believed to be the sun, hássi. The blossoms of hássi yahā'gi, 'looks toward the sun,' or 'sun likeness,' Sunflower (Helianthus annuus ?), are the ingredients of the medicine prepared by the shaman. The following song is sung four times, between each repetition the medicine is given a violent blowing.

The words are:

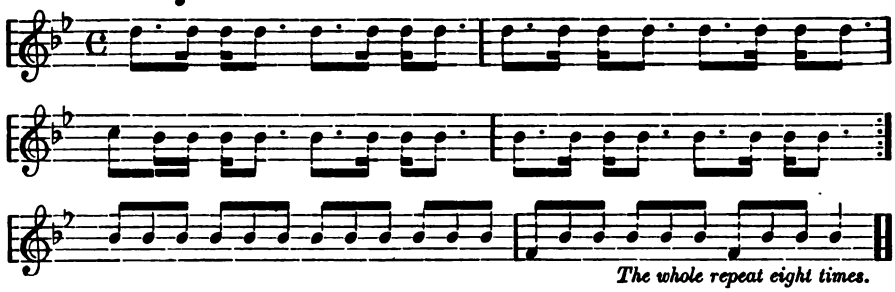
sīwā' (repeated twelve times before, and six times after each of the
scatter. following lines.)

nítta hássi.
day sun.
nílī hássi.
night sun.
koláslobótskī.
stars little.

The shaman invokes the sun, moon (referred to as night sun) and the stars to dispel the trouble.

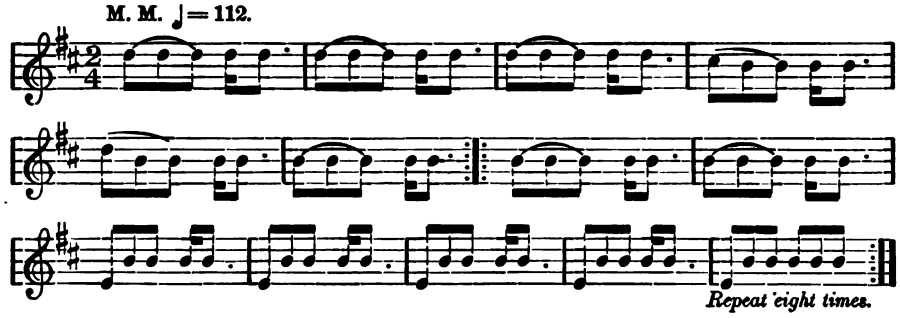
7. I'djo alē'dja. DEER THE CAUSE.

Swelling boils on the body and limbs are believed to be caused by the deer, I'djo. The shaman prepares a mixture of atcína, cedar leaves (Chamaecyparis thyoides), and ī'djo máha, 'deer potato' (Licinaria scariosa). The root of the latter is a bulb and both this and the leaves are used. I obtained several songs for this trouble, the first two being quite a little alike.

M. M. ♩ = 132.

The words of this song are:

hā'finonogī'ī hídjinomī'ī (repeated throughout the song.)
his feet he patters, [we] see him, as it were.

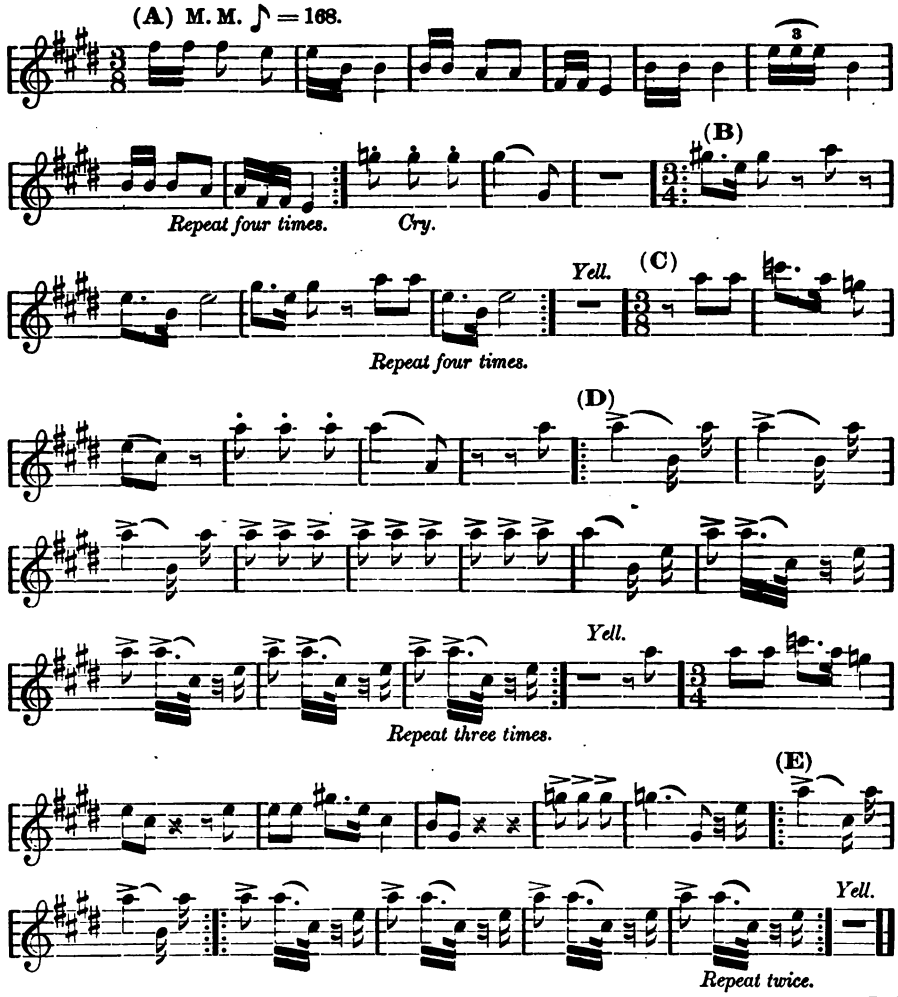
8. DEER THE CAUSE.

M. M. ♩ = 112.

In this version the words are:

hā'finonogī'ī hídjinomī'ī (repeated to the seventh bar twice, then
his feet he patters [we] see him, as it were. followed by the rest).
djo mī'ko lánudjī.
deer chief yellow little.
hidjódjides yawákladī.
[we] see him, here he was lying.
hī'ya ā'sasálgosan.
here we run him.
ya hwī'łidálin ómasdjē'.
here he stood [and] wandered about, so it seems,

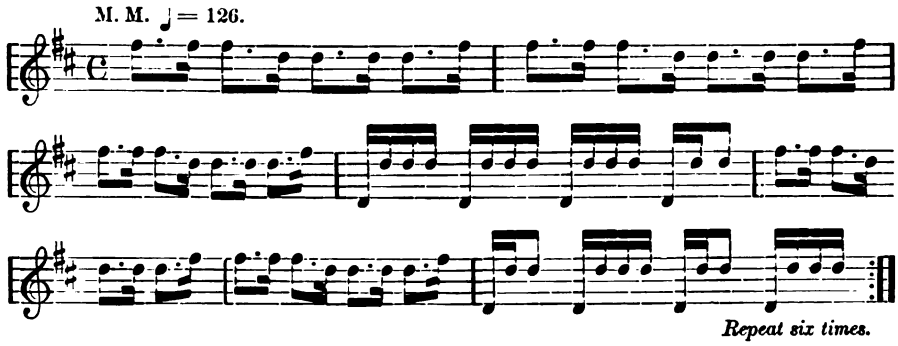
There are four more verses to this song which are the same as the above in all but the first line of the formula in which mention is made of the deer. Where djo mī'ko lánudjī stands in the first verse, the second has ī'djo adjū'li, 'old male deer,' the third has ī'djo djofa'gana, 'yearling deer (in his virile period),' the fourth has ī'djo kola'swa,[1] 'deer mother,' and the fifth, ī'djúdji, 'little deer.'

9. DEER THE CAUSE.

This is another quite different song which is also used in removing some trouble brought on by the deer. Unfortunately, however, no further information can be given with it.

[1]This is an archaic word, the modern being ítski.

The meaningless syllables of this song are:
(A) yá li he ho ya$^{ɛ'}$ li he ye he he he (repeated four times.)
(B) yâ' ^{ɛ}o ha (repeated four times.)
(C) ya ná ni ho ^{ɛ}o ho.
(D) ihā'· hī'· ohōī'·
oho$^{ɛ'}$ hōī' oho$^{ɛ'}$ hōī (repeated a number of times.)
(alternating with)
ihā'· hē'· ohōī'·
he yō'· hé (repeated a number of times.)
(E) ya ná le ha há no he ya (repeat twice.)

10. I'djo lowági alē'dja. YEARLING DEER THE CAUSE.

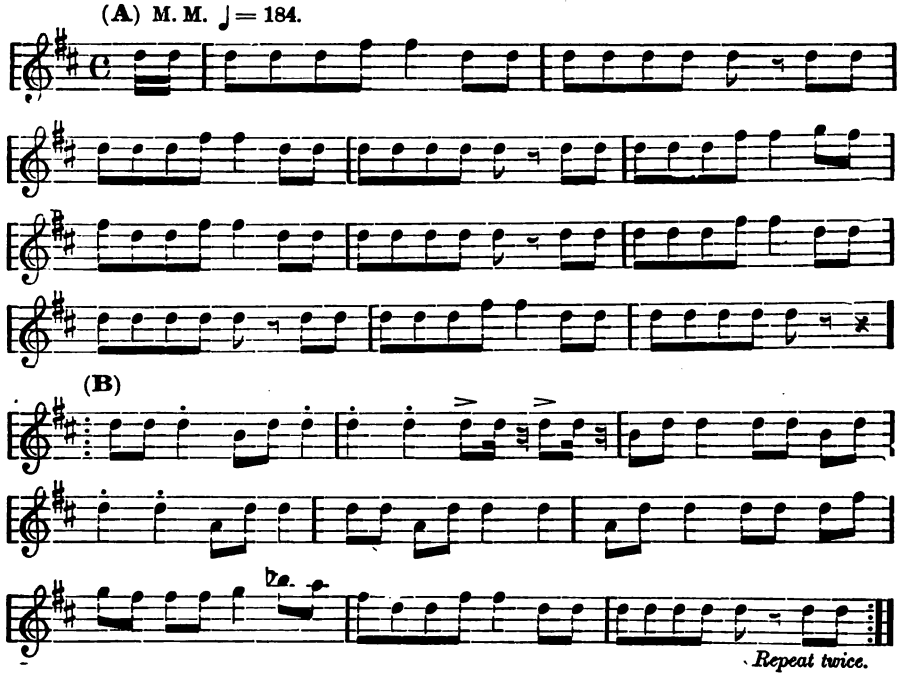
Swollen joints and stiff muscles, suggestive of rheumatism, are caused by yearling deer, īdjo lowágī, literally 'deer tender, or nimble,' or ī'djudjī, 'little deer,' referring to yearlings. The notion of rheumatism is evidently associated with the stiff gait of the fawns. As a cure the shaman employs atcína, cedar leaves which are steeped in water and blown into between the six verses of the following song.

The words are:
īdjódjīyä (repeat six times.)
little deer.
īnádades.
the game animals.
lowágofAN.
when they are tender.
tcafíknosīd.
being healthy.
aɬī'bofAN.
when they wander about.
īdjódjīyä (repeat six times.)
little deer.

The other five verses of this song are the same as the above except for the first two words. Accordingly only the parts that are different will be given.

ītjódjides (repeat six times.)
the little deer.
īláksides.
his hoofs.
(repeat the last four lines of preceding verse.)
ītjódjides (repeat six times.)
the little deer.
īsúksodes.
his loins.
(repeat as above.)

The next three verses are the same as the preceding except in the second line where different parts of the fawn are mentioned, in the following order īláfanī, 'his back bone,' īnádjides, 'his vital parts,' ī'gades, 'his head.' The song then ends with the exclamations dogō'! dogō'! ītjō'djiyä', 'little deer,' and a long cry, ī^{n}wā^{n}! imitating the cry of the fawn.

11. Nókusī alē'dja. BEAR THE CAUSE.

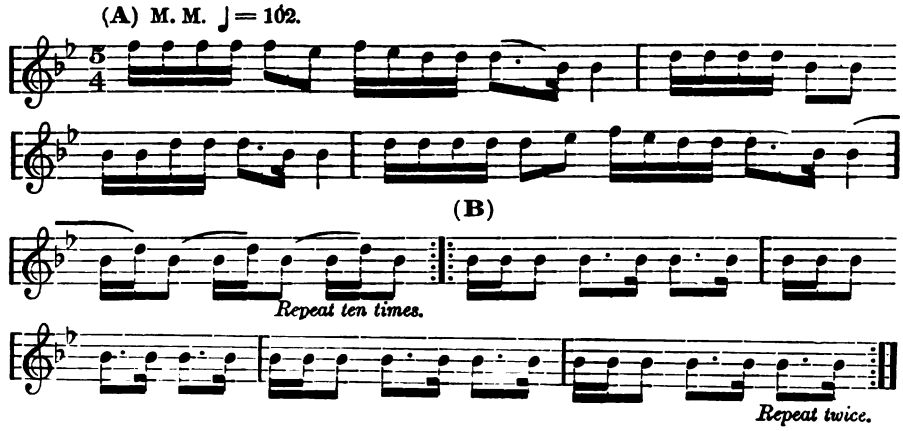
The bear, nókusī, is thought to cause nausea and diarrhea. The plant used by the shaman is one called wīlána, 'in the water yellow'(Chenopodium anthelminticum.) The whole plant is steeped in water and the decoction given to the patient.

The meaningless syllables of this song down to (B) are hīya nó, ho ga nī'. At (B) words are introduced which, in part, are

idalégomA'lga.
grouped together all.
isósīye dalégosin.
[in the] ashes withering (?)

The last few bars are sung to the meaningless syllables as above, and the whole song ends with a deep ho' imitating a bear.

12. Poyafi'kdja alē'dja. SPIRIT THE CAUSE.

The spirits of dead people, poyafi'kdja, literally 'our spirits,' referring to dead ancestors, who have not reached the home of the spirits, are thought to wander about the earth inflicting fever in its various forms. The medicines steeped by the shaman for this trouble were given as kofA'tska, peppermint (Mentha (sp.?) and ahálbakstcē', 'potato very straight (?),' said to be Life-everlasting (Gnaphalium (sp.?)). There are ten verses to this song, between each of which the medicine is given a blowing. The song invokes the troublesome spirit, mentioning his defunct relatives with the idea of obtaining his mercy in some way through his affection for them.



The wording is as follows: The portion (A) is sung to djídjíwehegē', without specified meaning, repeated up to the last bar. The last bar of (A) differs with every verse, a different relative receiving mention in each. In their given order the terms are:

djítskī ī'ladī.
your mother is dead.
djīyo'ban ī'ladī.
your child is dead.
dji'łkī ī'ladī.
your father is dead.
djłłáha ī'ladī.
your elder brother (or sister) is dead.

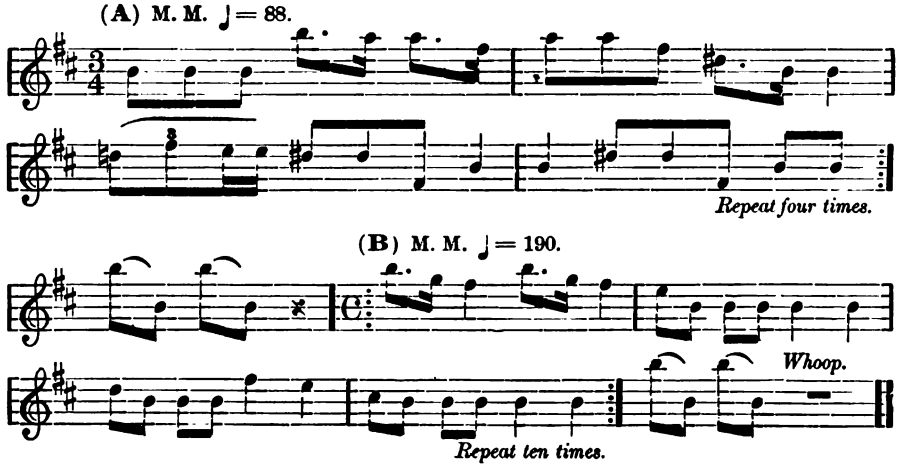
djīdjósī īladī.
your younger brother (or sister) is dead.
djīdjiłwa ī'ladī.
your clan brother (or sister) is dead
djitskúdji ī'ladī.
your mother's sister (little mother) is dead.
djibáwa ī'ladī.
your mother's brother is dead.
djībo'si ī'ladī.
your grandmother is dead.
djībō'dja ī'ladī.
your grandfather is dead.

The last portion of the song (B) which is sung only twice is worded,

talókilins.
withered up.
djiłā'fani.
your back bone.
wogódjweī'djayándomī.
made to crumble, it seems to be.
djīgā'fani.
your head bone (skull).

13. łáło alē'dja. FISH THE CAUSE.

The various kinds of fish, łáło, cause sleeplessness, through some obscure train of association in the native mind. The plant used in curing the trouble is hílis hátkī, 'medicine white,' or ginseng (Panax quinquefolium), a well known narcotic. A decoction of the root is steeped and a portion of the root is sometimes chewed. A forked piece of root is preferred for medicine, often going under the designation of 'man root', from its resemblance to the human body and legs.



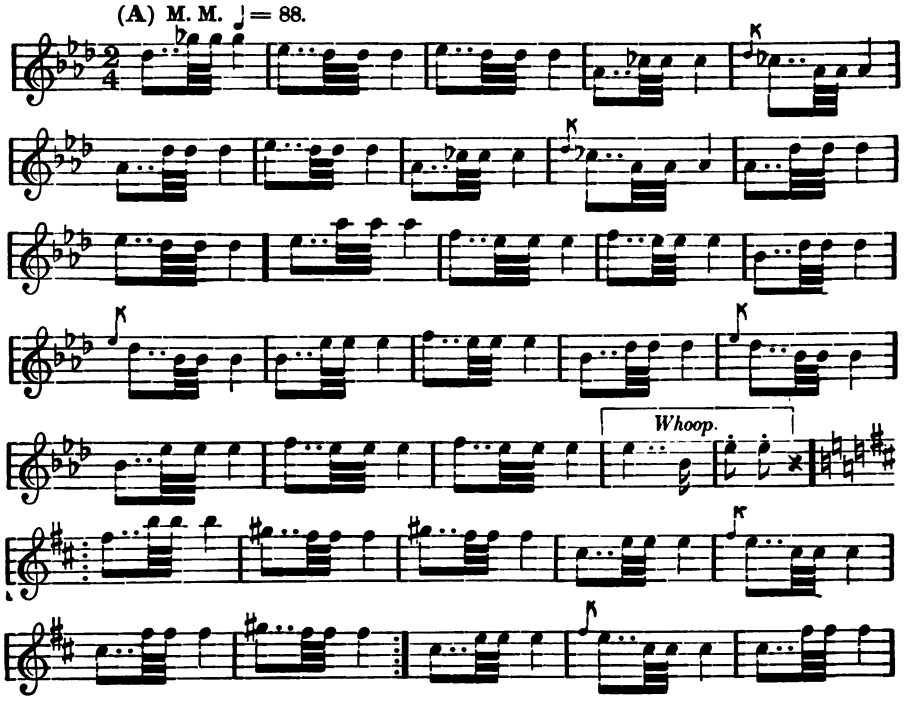
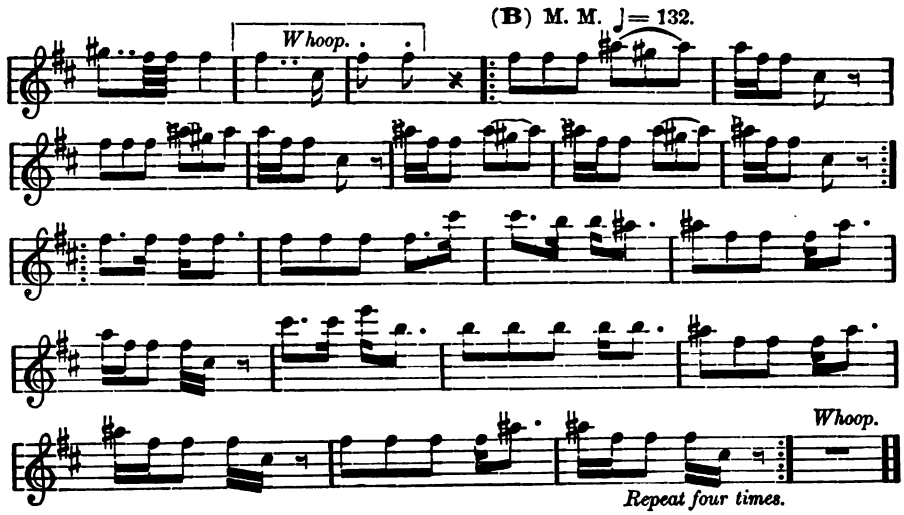
The words of the first part (A), consisting mostly of meaningless syllables, are:

láni oho.
yellow.
helegwadóha.
hédonīhé.

There are three other verses worded the same except in the first line where tcádī, 'red,' lástī, 'black,' and hátkī, 'white,' are substituted for láni. The wording of the second part (B) is lacking.

14. Hilúdja isfága. Turtle Hunting Medicine.

A cold in the lungs, accompanied by coughing and, rather strangely, by sores on the limbs and neck as described by Kabítcīmáła, is attributed to the turtle, hilúdja. What the sympathetic connection is between this creature and a cold, is very obscure. A handful of tofa'mbī, wild cherry bark, is boiled and sweetened as a medicine. The term hilúdja isfága, literally 'turtle means of hunting,' used as the name of this cure, refers to the medicine's function in hunting out and finding the turtle to induce him to remove the trouble. The song is rendered four times, with blowing into the medicine during the intervals.

(A) M. M. ♩ = 88.



The syllables of the portion labelled (A) are:

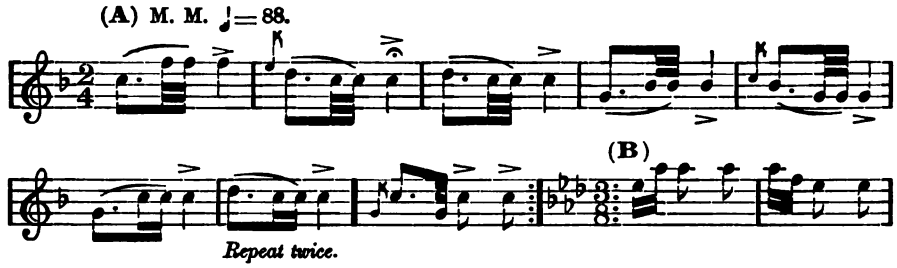
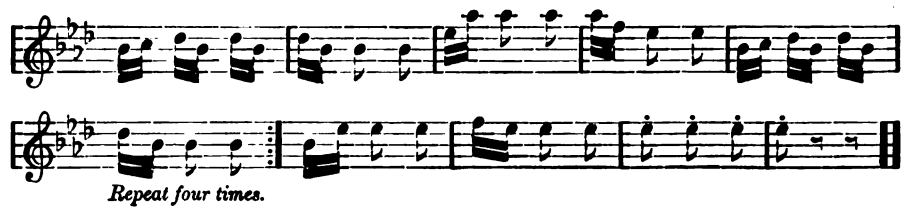
yá nī yā hā′. At (B) the turtle is invoked with the four cardinal colors, with the words as follows:

hilúdja lanī′.
turtle yellow.
hilúdja hatkī′.
turtle white.
hilúdja lastī′.
turtle black.
hilúdja tcadī′.
turtle red.

The song ends with numerous repetitions of the meaningless syllables as in (A).

15. Tcítto hilíswa isfága. Snake Medicine Hunting.

Snakes, tcítto (singular), cause swellings on the face and limbs. The leaves and twigs of cedar, atcína, are steeped and given the patient to drink. The song used to charm the decoction is as follows:



Repeat four times.

The words of the first part (A) are:

lánī ohó.
yellow.
tcádī ohó.
red.
lástī ohó.
black.
hátki ohó.
white.

These words are repeated in rotation until the eighth bar where the cry ha hē' hyā' hya is given.

The second part of the song (B) is rather different from the first, the words being as follows:

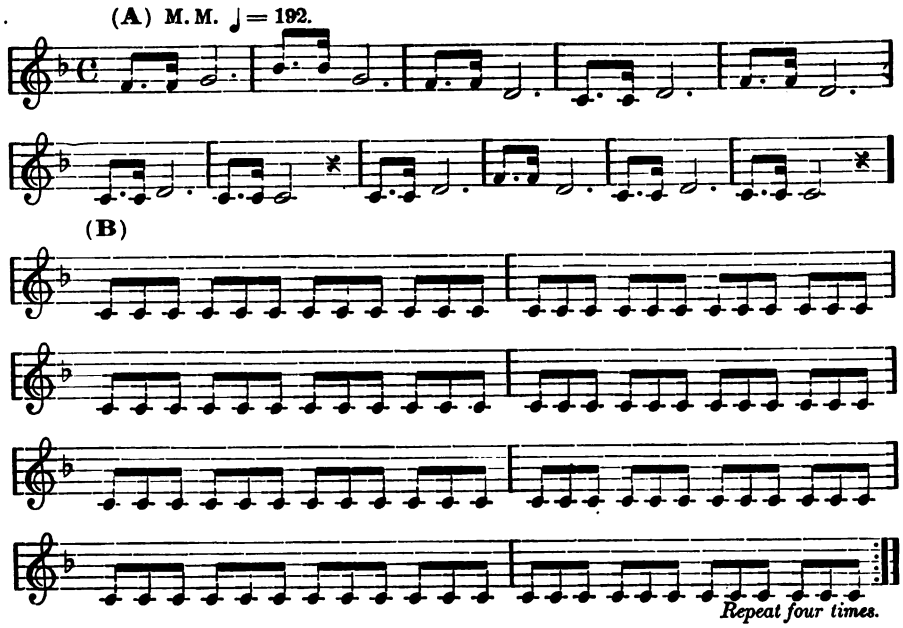
lánī we hé (twice.)
yellow.
yábidasím.
creeps (?)
lánagi hé.
yellow spotted.
tcádī we hé (twice.)
red.
yábidasím.
creeps (?)
tcádagi hé.
red spotted.
lástī we hé (twice.)
black.
yábidasím.
creeps (?)
lásladi hé.
black spotted.
hátkī we hé (twice.)
white.
yábidasím.
creeps (?)
háthagī hé.
white spotted.

The last bar has the cry ha hē, hya hya, ending the song.

16. Tcítto súlga. ALL THE SNAKES.

The following formula is not accompanied by complete information, as will be seen. Kabítcimála referred to an old story regarding the monster described, but was only concerned with the practical curative aspect of the matter, in consequence of which merely the song, the herbs and the scant information given here were obtainable.

Swellings in the legs, evidently of a rheumatic nature, producing serious lameness, are caused by a monster snake thought to be between twenty and thirty feet in length. The creature is armed with horns on its head and dwells or dwelt in a deep pool of water. Such monsters are quite common in the myths of the Creeks and other southeastern tribes.[1] The herbs steeped to make the medicine are the roots of akhátka, 'in water white,' sycamore; akdjilaláska, birch; akwá'na, willow. Added to the above are: ído lígwī, 'wood rotten', meaning ordinary dead sticks of a finger's thickness, the form of which resembles snakes and has, in consequence, a sympathetic influence with them.

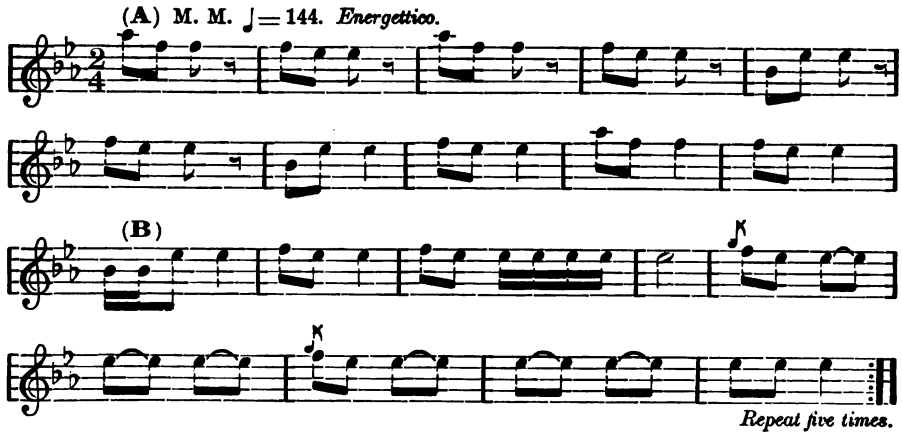
This formula begins with quite a long and very rapidly spoken part, which, unfortunately, was not taken down at the time. The only words of this part audible on the phonograph is the snatch ákalī tcádī, '(?) red,' repeated a number of times.

[1] This is probably the same as the Tie-Snake mentioned in Creek mythology. Cf. M.A.A.A., p. 156, "Rabbit Outwits Tie-Snake."

The first part of this song (A) is sung very rapidly to words repeated over and over again. At (B) the meaningless syllables ho yā′ nī wē′ are used.

17. Wīyogóf yahá alē′dja.

IN THE WATER, WOLF THE CAUSE.

Nausea, gripes and dysentery are caused by a creature called wīyogóf yaha, 'in the water, wolf.' Just what this animal is could not be explained, nor could I ascertain whether it was a mythical monster or an animal, reptile or fish in existence to-day.[1]

The roots of wī′sū, sassafras (Sassafras sassafras) are steeped as a medicine. The following song is repeated a number of times, while between each rendering the medicine is given a violent blowing through the shaman's tube.

The first ten bars (A) are sung to the syllables dandayī′, which were said to be without meaning, yet it is significant to notice that the last two syllables, dayī, denote pain.

The second part (B) is sung to the words:

wīyogō′fa.
in the water
yaha lánī.
wolf yellow
łágwīlágāgadī
they are two big ones (?)[2]

---

[1]It might be suggested that the Mud Puppy (Amblystoma (Sp. ?)) may be meant by wī yogóf yaha, if we modify the name slightly to wī yogofki (muddy water) yaha (wolf).

[2]Translations such as these were offered by Kabítcimála when the texts were being recorded. As they were almost incapable of analysis and unintelligible to other interpreters, evidently the informant himself was the only one who could understand them.

łīī^{e} ilabátkin.
(?) on the shore
łīī^{e} isohō′seyē.
coming from the ashes
yosō′fa hī′ladi.
in ashes he di d.

The song then ends with ī′ladī, wo‘ wo‘ ohō′!, ‘he died, wo‘ wo‘ ohō′! (imitating feigned sad wailing).

The following are a few medicinal formulas similar in every respect to the preceding with the exception, however, that instead of being sung, they are repeated in a monotonous sing-song tone.

18. łákko alē′dja, HORSE THE CAUSE.

Swelling of the abdomen and numbness are caused by the horse, łákko. The trouble is evidently akin to colic, the sympathetic relations being quite obvious. A drink is made of four corn cobs, tálabī, about four inches long, soaked in water. The medicine is given a good blowing between the repetitions of this formula. The formula is pronounced rapidly in a rhythmic sing-song tone.

ya	hʌ′mba	lága	hi dī′	(repeated four times).
this	eater	glutton		
ya	hʌ′mba	láni	hi dī′	“
this	eater	yellow		
ya	hʌmba	djádī	hi dī′	“
this	eater	red		
ya	hʌ′mba	lásti	hi dī′	“
this	eater	black		
ya	hʌ′mba	hátki	hi dī′	“
this	eater	white		
wákkoī′dja	dī′			“
he lay down				
tím tī′dja	dī′			“
he made a great din				

The formula ends with two or three whinnies in imitation of a horse when he rolls over on his back and kicks his heels in the air.

19. Wótko alē′dja. RACCOON THE CAUSE.

Sleeplessness and sadness are caused by the raccoon, wótko, who is himself always roaming about at night and grieving, as is shown by the white circles around his eyes. The plant used to cure the trouble is tohílīgo, ‘plant without feet,’ or mistletoe (Phoradendron flavescens), which grows high up on trees near the rivers. The raccoon is thought to associate with this plant. During the preparation of the medicine it is blown into between the verses of the follow-

ing formula. All the animals mentioned after the raccoon in the fourth, fifth and sixth verses are likewise night prowlers and doleful in mien. The greater portion of the translation offered is only approximate.

ai ha'' ai ha'' ai ha'' ai ha''.
wótko hoktálwa.
raccoon female
dałánī.
eye yellow
po''yadjī lä'gat.
mourning, lying stretched out
ikdē'mAt.
(?)
alík dA'sha.
weak jumper (?)
ai ha'' ai ha'' ai ha'' ai ha''.

Five other verses are just the same as the foregoing except in the first word. The second verse begins with wótko djū'lī, 'old male raccoon', the third with wotkúdjī, 'little raccoon', the fourth with oktcútko lánī, 'muskrat yellow,' the fifth with halpáda lánī, 'alligator yellow,' and the sixth with tágo lánī, 'ground mole yellow'. The formula ends with the syllables 'wai' wai'' in a deep interrogative tone.

20. Kátcalē'dja. WILDCAT THE CAUSE.[1]

The different members of the cat family, pō'si, cat, kátca, wild cat, and koakúdjī, panther, cause nausea and gripes. The medicine used with the formula is made up of a number of plants, the names of which were not obtained, and called koákudjilíswa, 'panther, medicine.' The formula, spoken quite rapidly by the shaman, has a marked three-fourths rhythm, the words being as follows:

katcalē'dja dī'.
wild cat the cause
ī'ga łákko dī'.
head big
yûbo łákko dī'.
nose big
ído łákko dī.'
face big
tółwa łákko dī'.
eye big
hátsko łákko dī'.
ear big.

[1]M.A.A.A., 128.

nógwa łákko dĭ'.
neck big
łátsi łákko dĭ'.
throat big
ifúlwa łákkò dĭ'.
his shoulder big
sákpa łákko dĭ'.
fore leg big
lĭ'dabiksĭ łákko dĭ'.
foot broad big
nádjĭ łákko dĭ'.
teeth big
hókpĭ łákko dĭ'.
breast big
łáfanĭ łákko dĭ'.
back bone big
inálkĭ łakko dĭ'.
his belly big
isûksĭ łákko dĭ'.
his buttocks big
ihálĭ łákko dĭ'.
his thigh big
ĭnádjałahi dĭ'.
body muscle
sákpadjałahi dĭ'.
fore leg muscle
hadjidjałáhi dĭ'.
tail muscle
hadjĭfana łĭ'djadĭ'.
tail bone it was under

There are two more verses to this formula which are different from the above only in the first word. The second verse begins with koakúdjĭ łákko dĭ', 'panther big', and the third with 'pósĭ łákko dĭ', 'cat big.'

The following tabular arrangement of the medicinal agencies, their identity, the troubles they are used for and the causes of the same, affords a more convenient résumé of the foregoing facts:

LIST OF PLANTS AND MEDICINAL AGENTS IN THE FORMULAS.

Native name.	Translation.	English name.	Botanic name.	Diseases for which medicines are used.	Cause.
1 mĭkoanĭ'dja	chief physic	red willow	Salix tristis (?)	headache	deer.
2 atcína		cedar	Chamaecyparis thyoides	swollen joints / swellings on limbs / boils on body	deer, snakes.
3 ĭ'djo máha	deer potato	?	Licinaria scariosa	swollen joints / swellings on limbs / boils on body	deer.
4 hássi yahágĭ	sun, looks toward	sunflower	Helianthus annuus	headache	sun.
5 súkha hátsko	hog ear	hawkweed	Hierocicum scouleri	indigestion	hog.
6 akhátka	in water white	sycamore	Platanus occidentalis	constipation	beaver.
7 akdjĭlaláska		red birch	Betula nigra	constipation	beaver.
8 wĭlána	in water yellow	worm seed	Chenopodium anthelminticum	diarrhea	bear.
9 tofa'mbi	wood, stinking	wild cherry	Cerasus serotina	cold in lungs	turtle.
10 akwá'na		willow	Salix (sp. ?)	rheumatism (with 6 and 7)	monster snake.
11 wĭ'sŭ		sassafras	Sassafras sassafras	nausea, gripes	water wolf.
12 kofa'tska		peppermint	Mentha (sp. ?)	fever	spirits.
13 ahálabakstcē	potato very straight	life everlasting	Gnaphalium (sp. ?)	fever	spirits.
14 tohĭlgo	plant without feet	mistletoe	Phorodendron florescens	melancholy	raccoon.
15 koákudjĭliswa	panther medicine	?		nausea, gripes	cat, panther.
16 hĭlis hátki	medicine white	ginseng	Panax quinquefolium	insomnia	fish.
17 fus imbognága	bird, his nest	bird's nest		diarrhea	birds.
18 ído lĭgwĭ	wood, rotten	dried twigs		rheumatism	monster snake.
19 idĭwissĭ	tree hair	dried leaves		ulcerated teeth (with 18)	water moccasin.
20 talábi	withered stalk	corn cob		colic	horse.

ORIGIN OF DISEASES AND MEDICINES

Pómidjiskadjū'lagi Maskógi sihógof. I'djo alē'dja má'git
Our ancestors Muskogi when [they] Deer [the] causer, said
[lit. our 'old roots'] stood.

hilíswA háyadit ómisdjē'.[1] Kátca alē'dja mágit hilíswA háyadit
medicine made was. Wildcat causer, said medicine made

ómisdjē'. Mó'min hadA'm nókusī alē'dja ómis mágit hilíswA
was. Then again bear causer was, said medicine

háyadit ómisdjē'. HadA'm tcítto alē'dja ómis mágit hilíswA
made was. Again snake causer was, said medicine

háyadit ómisdjē'. Mó'min hadA'm sûkha lē'djat[2] o'mis mágit
made was. Then again hog causer was, said

hilíswA háyadit ómisdjē. Fúswa alē'djat ómis mágit hilíswA
medicine made was. Bird causer was, said medicine

háyadit ómisdjē'. Mó'min hadA'm pósī alē'djat ómis mágit
made was. Then again cat causer was, said

hilíswA háyadit ómisdjē'. Mó'min hadA'm łákko alē'djat ómis
medicine made was. Then again horse causer was,

mágit hilíswA háyadit ómisdjē. Mó'min itcáswa alē'djat ómis
said medicine made was. Then beaver causer was,

mágit hilíswA háyadit ómisdjē'. Mó'min hadA'm ī'fa alē'djat
said medicine made was. Then again dog causer

ómis mágit hilíswA háyadit ómisdjē'. Mó'min hadA'm osánna
was, said medicine made was. Then again otter

alēdjat omis mágit hilíswA háyadit ómisdjē'. Mó'min hADA'm
causer was, said medicine made was. Then again

łáło alē'djat ómis mágit hi'liswA háyadit ómis djē'. Mó'min
fish causer was, said medicine made was. Then

hadA'm ponáta alē'djat ómis mágit hilíswA háyadit ómis djē'.
again game animals[3] causer was, said medicine made was.

Mó'min hadA'm wīyístīt alē'djat ómis mágit hilíswA háyadit
Then again in water people causer was, said medicine made

ómisdjē'. Mó'min hADA'm labátkadilógat ómis mágit hilíswA háyadit
was. Then again shore creatures was, said medicine made

[1]—dje', an emphatic sentence conclusion, corresponding to the English period.
[2]The *t* occurring in these forms is the subjective suffix.
[3]Refers to various edible animals.

ómisdjē.′ Mó′min hadᴀ′m [wĭ] ŏ′fadilógat ómis mágit hilis′wᴀ
was. Then again sea creatures was, said medicine
háyadit ómisdjē′. Mó′min hᴀdᴀ′m tcítto súlgat ómis mágit hilíswᴀ
made was. Then again snake various was, said medicine
háyadit ómisdjē′. Mó′min hadᴀ′m óyákwilágī súlgat ómis mágit
made was. Then again in the water [creatures] standing various was, said
hilíswᴀ háyadit ómisdjē′. Mó′min hadᴀ′m óyákwīlákudjīt ómis
medicine made was. Then again in water standing little [creatures] was,
mágit hilíswᴀ háyadit ómisdjē′. Mó′min hᴀdᴀ′m wótko alē′djat
said medicine made was. Then again raccoon causer
ómis, mágit hilíswa háyadit ómisdjē′. Mó′min hadᴀ′m sûkha hátka
was, said medicine made was. Then again opossum [lit. 'hog white']
alē′djat ómis mágit hilíswᴀ háyadit ómisdjē′. Mó′min hadᴀ′m
causer was, said medicine made was. Then again
sóda sûkhat alē′djat ómis mágit hilíswᴀ háyadit ómisdjē′. Mó′min
sky hog causer was. said medicine made was. Then
hadᴀ′m óskindádjat alē′djat ŏ′s mágit hilíswᴀ háyadit ómisdjē′.
again rainbow [lit. 'rain cutter'][1] causer was, said medicine made was.
Mó′min hadᴀm poyafíkdja alē′djat ómis magit hilíswᴀ háyadit
Then again [our] spirit or soul causer was said medicine made
ómisdjē′. Mó′min hadᴀ′m íkano súlgī ómis mágit hilíswᴀ háyadit
was. Then again earth various [kinds of] was, said medicine made
ómisdjē′. Mó′min hadᴀ′m tútka modjása ingasúpīd ómis mágit
was. Then again fire new its cooling was, said
hilíswᴀ háyadit ómisdjē′. Mó′min hadᴀ′m ikano súlgī súlgat ómis
medicine made was. Then again earth various classes was,
mágit hilíswᴀ háyadit ómisdjē′. Mó′min hadᴀ′m sūlī alēdjat ómis
said medicine made was. Then again buzzard causer was,
mágit hilíswᴀ háyadit ómisdjē′. Mó′min hadᴀ′m ístī winákīd
said medicine made was. Then again humans living
alēdjit ómis mágit hilíswᴀ háyadit ómisdjē′. Mó′min hadᴀ′m
causer was, said medicine made was. Then again
kátcat alē′djit ŏ′s mágit hilíswᴀ háyadit ómisdjē′. Mó′min hadᴀ′m
wild cat caused said medicine made was. Then again
pínwalē′djat ómis mágit hilíswᴀ háyadit ómisdjē′. Mó′min hadᴀ′m
wild turkey causer was, said medicine made was. Then again
wīyogŏ′f yahát alē′djit ŏ′s, magit hilíswᴀ háyadit ómisdjē.′ Mó′min
in water wolf caused, said medicine made was. Then

[1] The Creeks believe that the rainbow stretches across the sky and shuts off the descending rain.

hadᴀ′m labátki yahát alē′djit ō′s, mágit hilíswᴀ háyadit ómisdjē′.
again shore wolf caused, said medicine made was

Mó‘min hadᴀ′m djō′hanágut alē′djit ō′s magit hilíswᴀ háyadit
Then again curse caused, said medicine made

ómisdjē′. Mó‘min hadᴀ′m tcítto mī′kut alē′djit ō′s mágit hilíswᴀ
was. Then again rattlesnake [lit. 'snake chief']. caused, said medicine

háyadit ómisdjē′. Mó‘min hadᴀ′m ō′bō ĭalē′djat o′mis mágit hilíswᴀ
made was. Then again owl its causer was, said medicine

háyadit ómisdjē′. Mó‘min hadᴀ′m ádjĭdí‘kat[1] ómis mágit hilíswᴀ
made was. Then again what is inside of you [lit. 'towards you inside'] was, said medicine

háyadit ómisdjē′.
made was.

TRANSLATION.

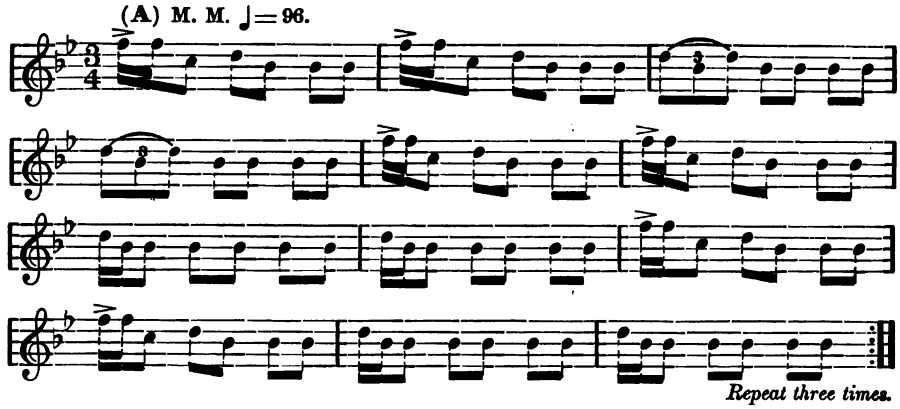
Our ancestors the Muskogi were assembled long ago. The deer caused a certain sickness, then he said he would make the medicine for it. The wildcat caused a sickness, then said he would made the medicine for it. Then the bear caused a sickness and said he would make the medicine for it. Then the snake caused a sickness and said he would make the medicine for it. Next the hog made a sickness and said he would make the medicine for it. Again, the bird made a sickness and said he would make the medicine for it. Then the cat caused a sickness and said he would make the medicine for it. Then the horse made a sickness and said he would make the medicine for it. And the beaver made a sickness and said he would make the medicine for it. Then the dog caused a sickness and said he would make the medicine for it. Then the otter caused a sickness and said he would make the medicine for it. Then the fish caused a sickness and said he would made the medicine for it. Then again the game animals caused a sickness and said they would make the medicine for it. Then again, the people who live in the water made a sickness and said they would make the medicine for it. And the shore creatures made a sickness and said they would make the medicine for it. Then the sea creatures made a sickness and said they would make the medicine for it. And the various kinds of snakes caused a sickness and said they would make the medicine for it. And the various creatures standing in the water made a sickness and said they would make the medicine for it. Then the little creatures standing in the water made a sickness and said they would make the medicine for it. Then again the raccoon caused a sickness and said he would make the medicine for it. And the possum caused a sickness and said he would make the medicine for it. Then the sky hog caused a sickness and said he would make the medicine

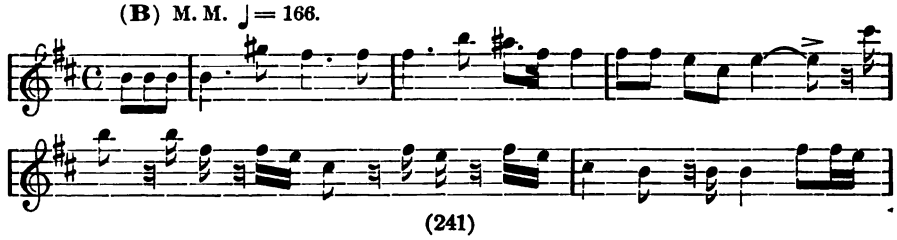
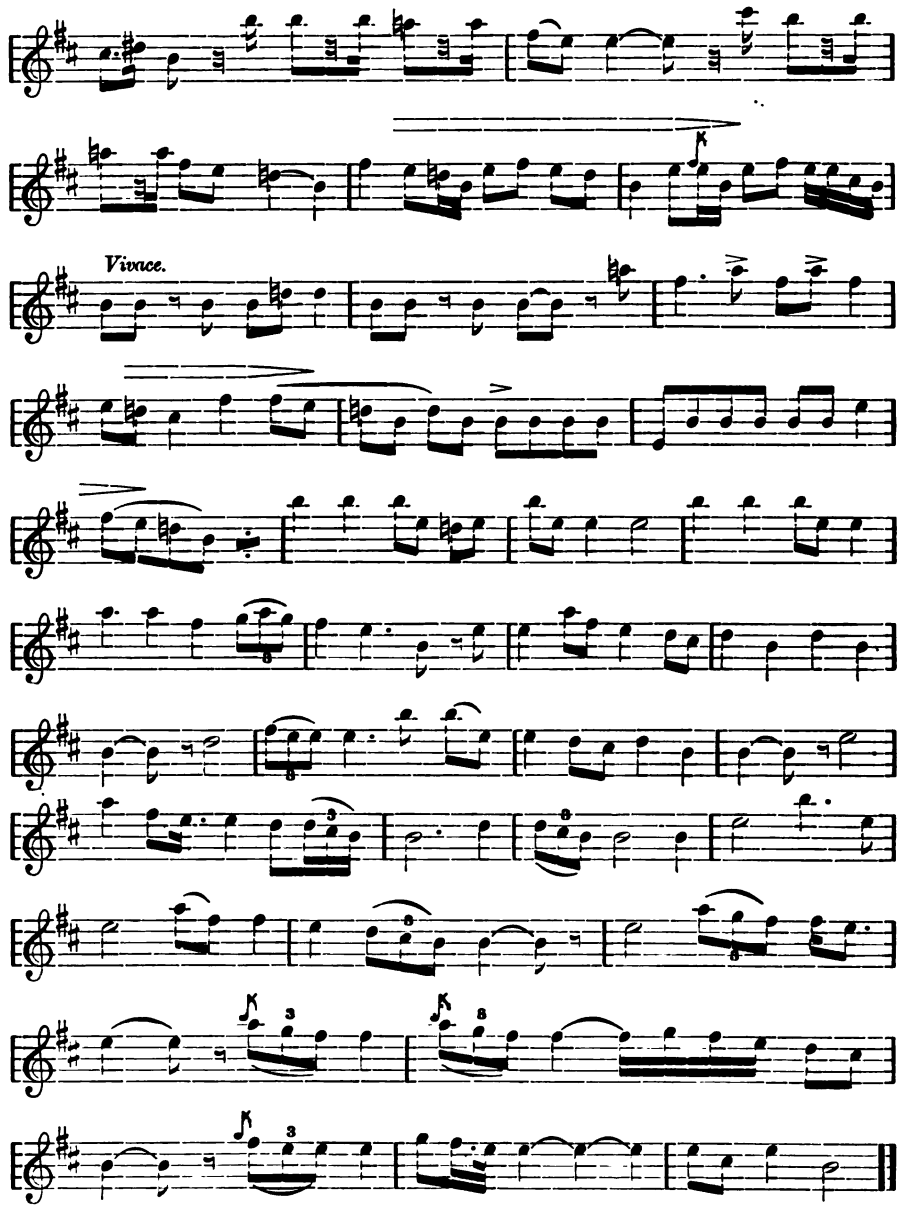
[1]Also ánī adí‘kat, 'me inside.'

for it. And the rainbow caused a sickness and said he would make the medicine for it. Then the spirits or souls caused a sickness and said they would make the medicine for it. And the various kinds of earth made one and said they would make the medicine for it. Then again, the new fire made a sickness and said it would make the medicine for it. And again, the various classes of earth were the cause, and said they would make the medicine for it. Then the buzzard caused one and said he would make the medicine for it. Then again living people were the causes of sickness and said they would make the medicine for it. Then again the wildcat was a causer and said he would make the medicine for it. And again, the water wolf was the causer of one and said he would make the medicine for it. And the shore wolf caused one and said he would make the medicine for it. And then curse caused sickness and said he would make the medicine for it. Then the rattlesnake made a sickness and said he would make the medicine for it. Then the owl was the causer and said he would make the medicine for it. Then again what is inside of you was the causer and said it would make the medicine for it.

SHAWNEE LOVE SONGS

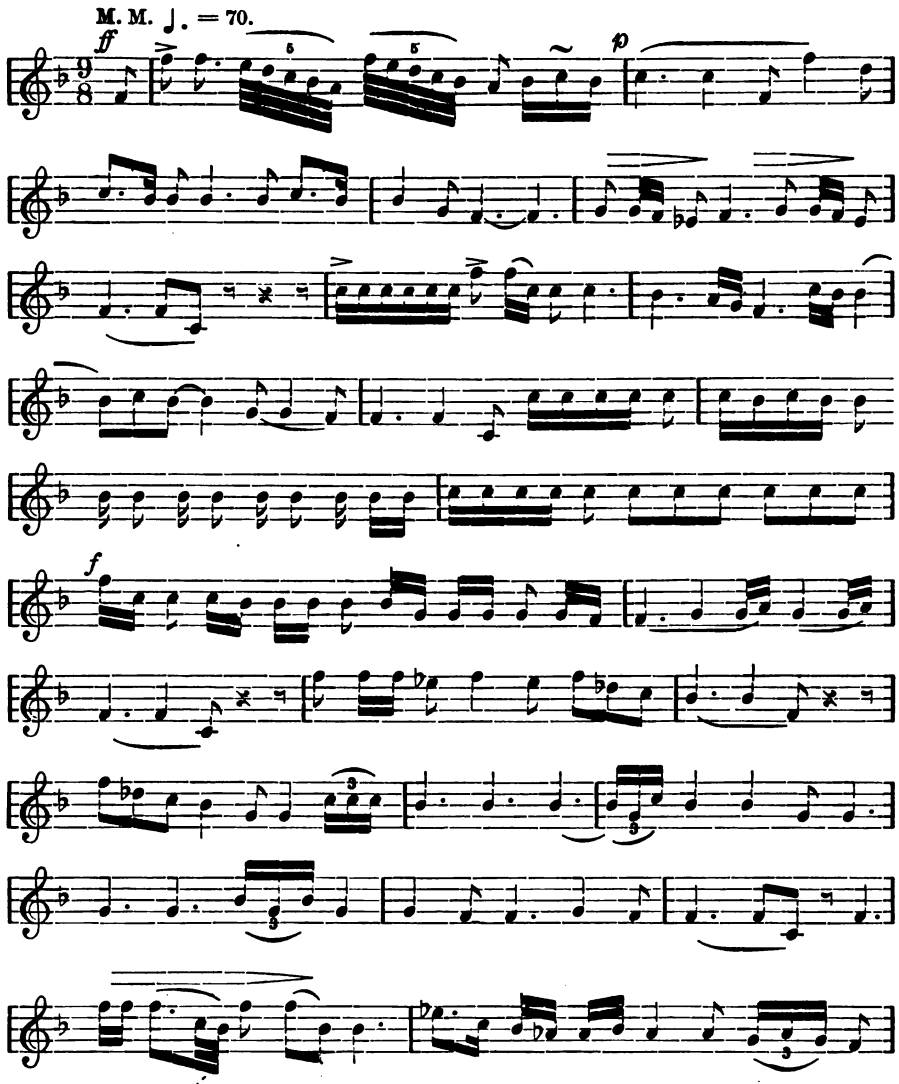
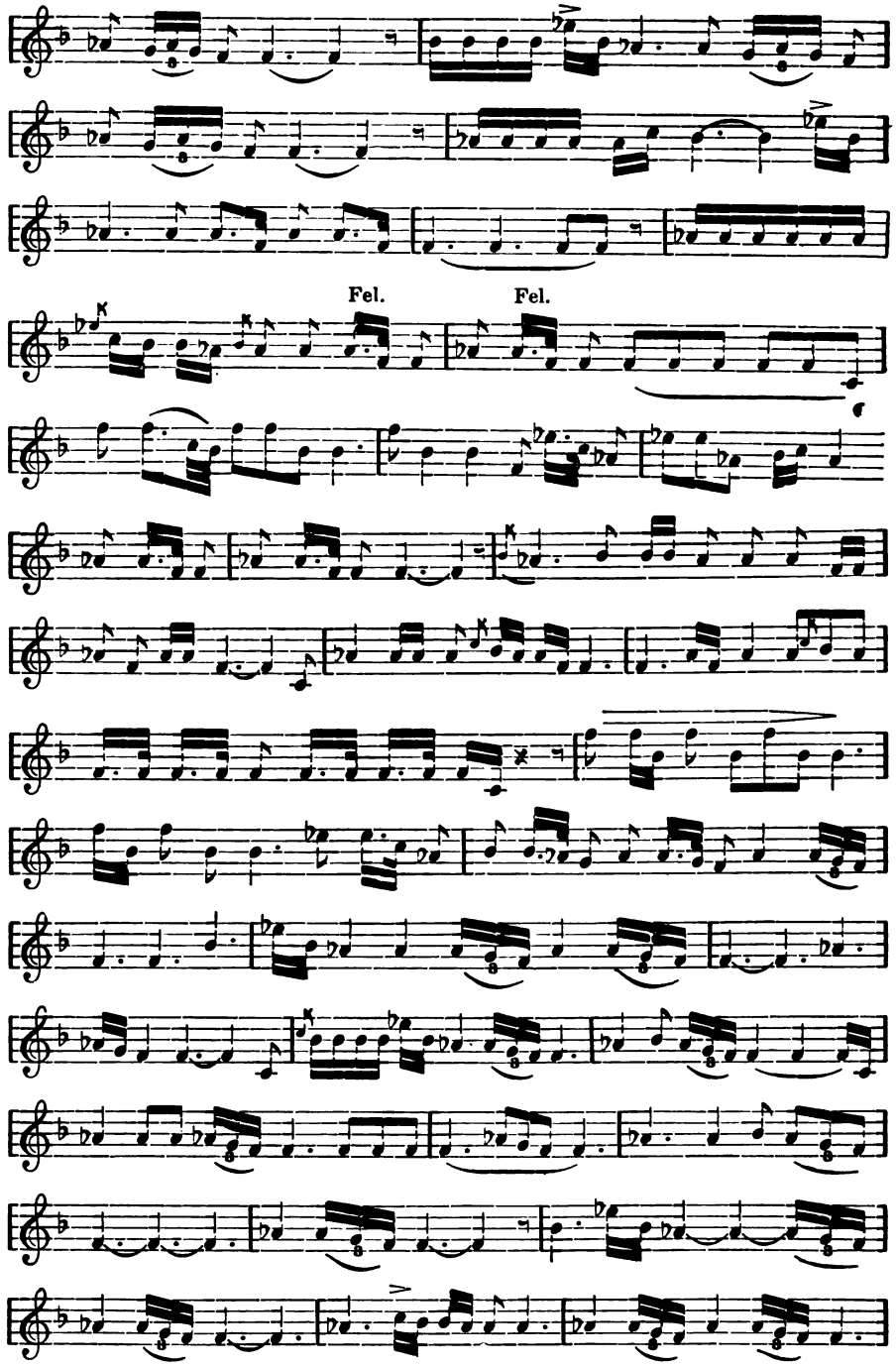
These two songs were sung by a Shawnee (Charley Wilson) of the band affiliated loosely with the Yuchi and Creeks since very early times and now with them in the northwestern part of the Creek Nation. The examples given are supposed to be typical of the songs current among the men about the village, used not only to arouse the emotions of their lovers, but as calls. They also represent the spontaneous outbursts of feeling to which lovers are thought to be subject. While both songs consist of mere burden syllables, there are in the second several places where the singer introduces a few impromptu expressions indicating the state of his feelings.

SHAWNEE LOVE SONG.

The syllables vary between gó hī yä′ hä, hó hī yä′ hä and yó′ ho wé hī ho, hó hī yä′ hä.



The syllables of this song are for the most part hardly distinguishable. Part is sung to gó hó ha we hī yá we he yä′ gó wa and ya nó hī yä′ with variations of ha ha wé, we haí″ya, we he hā′ a yä′ and slurs and prolonged tremolos on ā, wē, etc.

Shawnee Love Song.

The spirit of the following song is so impulsive that the mere burden syllables are lost sight of. The greater part seems to be a repetition of há yá ya le hé yá, interspersed with yells, falsetto tremolos and slurs. The only actual words that I could get from the text represent such expressions as "last of it," "hurt one's feelings," "a lot of people going home," "Osage," "shaking it off," and again "Yo Osage." The song ends in the scalp yell, known as the "gobble whoop," common among the southern tribes as a sign of victory.

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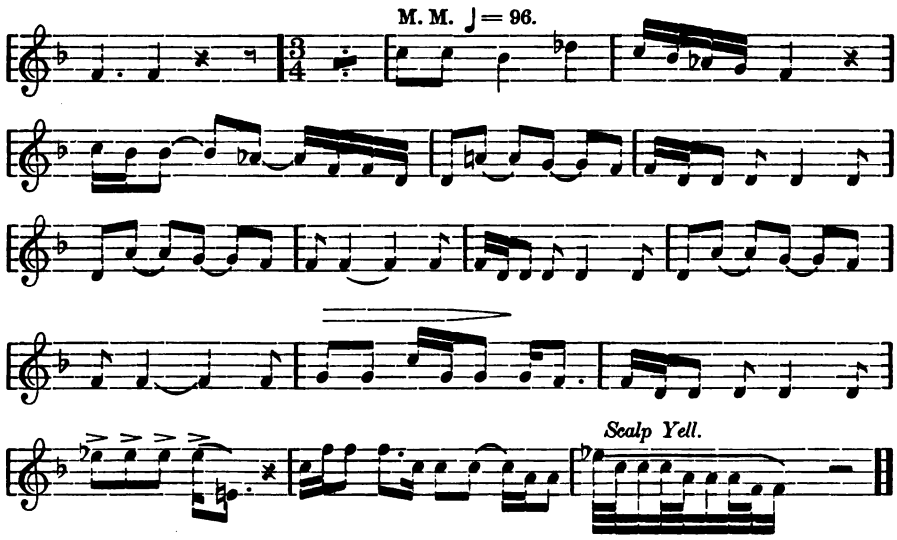
M. M. ♩= 96.
Scalp Yell.

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ETHNOLOGY OF THE YUCHI INDIANS

BY
FRANK G. SPECK

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